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THE

WORKS

OF

TACITUS.

WITH

POLITICAL DISCOURSES

UPON THAT

AUTHOR,

BY

THOMAS GORDON, Esq;

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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XI.

The SUMMARY.

The condemnation and death of Valerius Aſiaticus, *by the procurement of* Meſſalina. *The iniquity and venality of the public Pleaders. Their fees aſcertained. Civil combuſtions in Parthia. Secular Plays exhibited at Rome.* Claudius *adds three letters to the Alphabet. A ſhort Diſſertation concerning the origin of Letters.* Italus *eſtabliſhed King over the Cheruſcans.* Corbulo *made Commander in lower Germany, his ſevere and excellent diſcipline.* Curtius Rufus *diſtinguiſhed with the Triumphal Ornaments. The riſe and ſtory of that Roman. Of the inſtitution of the office of Quæſtor, and its variations. The Nobility of Gaul admitted to all the rights of Roman Citizens. The number of Patricians augmented.* Meſſalina *the Empreſs, her wild lewdneſs. She openly marries* C. Silius : *is accuſed to the Emperor, and her adulterers puniſhed. Her execution how procured and veſted.*

**** FOR, Meſſalina, implacable towards Valerius Aſiaticus, one twice Conſul, whom ſhe believed to have been Poppæa's adulterer, and equally panting after his fine gardens, begun by Lucullus, but by him beautified with ſignal magnificence, ſuborned Suilius to accuſe both him and her. In the plot was joined Soſibius, Tutor to Britannicus, who, under the mask of zeal, was to warn Claudius, "that mighty wealth in pri-
"vate hands, was ever miſchievous and threatening
"to Princes. In the aſſaſſination of Caligula, Aſiati-
"cus had been the principal director, nor feared to
"avow it in a public congregation of the people,
"nor even to claim the glory of the parricide:
"hence his popularity and renown in Rome; in-
"ſomuch that his purpoſe of withdrawing and put-
"ting himſelf at the head of the armies, was al-
"ready a prevailing rumour through all the Pro-
"vinces; for that being born at Vienne, and ſup-
"ported there by numerous and powerful families,
"all his own relations, it depended upon his plea-
"ſure to excite an inſurrection of his countrymen
"the Gauls." This ſufficed Claudius, who, in order to ſeize him, inſtantly diſpatched away Criſpinus, Captain of the Prætorian guards, with a body of ſoldiers, as if a war had been to be cruſhed. He was found at Baiæ, and hurried to Rome in chains.

Neither was it indulged him to be heard by the Senate; he was privately tried in a chamber in the preſence of Meſſalina. Suilius charged him "with
"corrupting the ſoldiery, as having by money and
"abominable pleaſures engaged them in his inte-
"reſt, and prepared them for every the moſt flagrant
"iniquity; with his adulterous amours with Pop-
"pæa, and with ſurrendering his perſon to unnat-
"ral defilements." This laſt article overcame patience, and breaking in upon the accuſ Aſk

" Ask thy own ſons, Suilius, ſaid he; thy ſons will " ſatisfy thee that I am a man." As he proceeded in his defence, he forced tears even from Meſſalina, and in Claudius raiſed agitations ſtill more powerful. But the Empreſs leaving the room to dry her eyes, warned Vitellius, " not to ſuffer the accuſed to " eſcape." She herſelf haſtened to accompliſh the doom of Poppæa, by ſuborning perſons who urged her, through the terrors of impriſonment, to a voluntary end; a cataſtrophe of which the Emperor was ſo utterly unapprized, that a few days after, as her huſband Scipio was at table with him, he continued aſking why he ſat down without his wife? till Scipio anſwered, that ſhe was no more.

Now as Claudius was deliberating about clearing Aſiaticus, the hollow Vitellius wept, and recounting their ancient friendſhip, with the dutiful obſervance which they had equally paid to Antonia, the Prince's mother; then diſplaying the good ſervices of Aſiaticus to the Commonwealth, particularly his late exploits in Great-Britain, with other arguments which ſeemed proper to excite mercy; he at laſt propoſed to grant him the free choice of his own death; a ſort of clemency of which Claudius declared his approbation. There were ſome who exhorted him to die gently, by abſtinence only; an indulgence which he rejected, but perſiſting in his wonted exerciſes, he bathed, and even ſupped chearfully. He ſaid, he ſhould with more credit have been ſacrificed to the dark artifices of Tiberius, or to the fury of Caligula, than thus periſh by the devices of a woman, and the proſtitute lips of Vitellius; then opened his veins, but firſt viewed his funeral pile, and directed its removal into another place, leſt the ſmoke ſhould ſcorch the heads of the trees, and leſſen their cool ſhade. Such was his firmneſs, even in the arms of death.

The Senate was thereafter ſummoned, and Suilius proceeded alſo to accuſe the illuſtrious Roman Knights, ſirnamed *Petræ*. The real cauſe of their bane was, that for a place of aſſignation, they had accommodated Valerius and Poppæa with the uſe of their houſe; but to one of them a dream was objected, as if he had beheld Claudius crowned with a chaplet of the ears of corn, their beards downwards, and thence foretold a public famine. Others have related, that the chaplet he beheld was of vine-branches with white leaves, which he conſtrued to portend the death of the Prince at the cloſe of autumn. Whatever he dreamt, this is undoubted, that for a dream both he and his brother were ſacrificed. To Criſpinus was decreed the Prætorſhip, and a reward of thirty-ſeven thouſand five hundred crowns, and to Soſibius five and twenty thouſand, at the motion of Vitellius, who recommended him as one that aſſiſted Britannicus with good inſtructions, and Claudius with wholeſome counſels. Scipio, who was alſo asked his opinion, ſaid; "Seeing I "entertain of Poppæa's miſdeeds the ſame thoughts "with all others, believe me to vote as all others "vote;" a delicate temperament between the affections of a husband, and the danger of provoking by his diſſent her powerful enemies.

Suilius continued thenceforward an inceſſant and mercileſs accuſer; and many laboured to emulate his abandoned occupation. For, the Emperors, by uſurping all the authority of the Magiſtrates, and the arbitrary diſpenſation of all the Laws, had opened a field for endleſs cruelties and depredations; nor of all the commodities of price was aught ſo ſaleable, as the faithleſs ſpirit of the pleaders; inſomuch that Samius, an illuſtrious Roman Knight, having given Suilius a fee of ten thouſand crowns, and finding himſelf betrayed in the cauſe, fell upon his ſword in the houſe of his traiterous advocate.

A complaint of this grievance being therefore begun by Caius Silius Conſul elect, whoſe power and overthrow I ſhall in its place remember, the whole Senate concurred, and demanded, that the Cincian Law might be reſtored to force; an old Law, which enjoined "that no man ſhould, for pleading "a cauſe, accept of gift or payment."

Hence they, over whom the infamy was impending, raiſing a clamour againſt the motion; Silius, who entertained an animoſity againſt Suilius, perſiſted with the more aſperity, and quoted "the "examples of the ancient Orators, who had eſ- "teemed preſent applauſe and the praiſes of poſte- "rity, the moſt illuſtrious recompence of their elo- "quence. Otherwiſe, an accompliſhment the moſt "dignified of all others, were debaſed into ſordid "proſtitution. Nor, in truth, was the faith of "pleaders to be truſted, where the greatneſs of gain "was their end. Beſides, if no man found his "merchandize in defending ſuits, there would be "fewer ſuits to defend; whereas, upon the pre- "ſent foot, enmities, accuſations, mutual hate and "mutual oppreſſions were promoted and inflamed "to ſuch a degree, that as an inundation of diſeaſes "was the market of Phyſicians, ſo the contagion of "the Bar proved the revenue of the Pleaders. They "might remember Caius Aſinius and Marcus Meſ- "ſalla, and more lately Arruntius and Eſerninus; "men who arrived to the ſupreme dignities of the "ſtate by a life unblemiſhed, and an eloquence "never expoſed to price." This reaſoning from the Conſul elect found the concurrence of the Senate, and a decree was about to paſs, to ſubject them to the penalties of the Law againſt extortion, when Suilius, Coſſutianus, and the reſt, who apprehended not a regulation only, but even their own puniſhment (for their guilt was manifeſt) gathered round the Prince, beſeeching remiſſion for what was paſſed;

and after he had, by a motion of his head, ſignified his aſſent, they thus proceeded.

"Who was the man of ſuch unbounded vanity "as to preſume upon an eternity of fame? The "practice of pleading was intended only for the "preſent purpoſes of ſociety, a common refuge for "all men, eſpecially that none might for want of "pleaders be cruſhed by the powerful: neither was "eloquence itſelf acquired, or exerted without pains "and expence; ſince they who profeſſed it for-"ſook their own domeſtic cares, to apply themſelves "to the buſineſs of others. Many followed the pro-"feſſion of war, many that of huſbandry, and by "both profeſſions a livelihood was gained; and no-"thing was purſued by any man, but with a view "to the advantages it produced. Eaſily might Aſi-"nius and Meſſalla, enriched by the event of the "war between Anthony and Auguſtus; eaſily might "the Eſernini and Arruntii, heirs of wealthy houſes, "all poſſeſs a ſpirit above the price of pleading. "But equally obvious were the examples of Publius "Clodius and Caius Curio, for what immenſe re-"wards they were wont to plead. For themſelves; "they were mean Senators, and, as the Common-"wealth enjoyed a perfect calm, only aimed at "ſubſiſting by the emoluments of peace. Nay, there "were thoſe of the commonalty, who ſtrove to "ſhine by the Gown and the Bar; but were the "price and encouragement of ſtudying withdrawn, "the Studies themſelves muſt periſh." Conſider-ations theſe far from honourable; but to Claudius they appeared of no ſmall force. He therefore ſet-tled the utmoſt meaſure of fees at two hundred and fifty crowns, and ſuch as exceeded were ſubjected to the penalties of extortion.

During the ſame time Mithridates, whom I have mentioned to have reigned in Armenia, and to have been brought in bonds to the tribunal of Cæſar, re-

turned

turned by the direction of Claudius into his Kingdom, confiding in the power and aſſiſtance of his brother Pharaſmanes King of the Iberians, who had ſent him advice, " that diſſentions prevailed amongſt " the Parthians, and that, while the fate of their " own crown was in ſuſpence, foreign conqueſts, " as things of leſs moment, muſt be neglected." For, the many cruelties of Gotarzes, particularly the ſudden murder of his brother Artabanus, with that of his wife and ſon, and thence the dread of his tyranny to the reſt of the nobility, prompted them to call Bardanes to the throne, a Prince of great activity and enterprize, ſo much that in two days he travelled three thouſand furlongs, then inſtantly invaded, utterly terrified and ſurprized, and even exterminated Gotarzes. With the ſame expedition he ſeized the neighbouring provinces, all but Seleucia, which alone diſowned his ſway: ſo that, more tranſported with wrath againſt the Seleucians, as a people who had likewiſe revolted from his father, than conſulting his preſent intereſt, he entangled himſelf in the ſiege of a city encompaſſed with ſtrong walls, repleniſhed with ſtores, and a river one of its bulwarks. For, Gotarzes the while, ſtrengthened by forces from the Dahans and Hyrcanians, renewed the war; ſo that Bardanes being neceſſitated to relinquiſh the ſiege, retired to the plains of Bactria, and there encamped.

In this combuſtion and diſunion of the powers in the Eaſt, and uncertainty how the ſame would terminate, an occaſion of poſſeſſing Armenia was adminiſtred to Mithridates, aſſiſted by the Roman ſoldiers, who demoliſhed the ſtrong holds, and by the Iberians, who over-ran and waſted the country. For, the Armenians made no longer reſiſtance, after the fate of Demonax their Governor, who had ventured a battle, and was defeated; only ſome of the Nobles countenanced Cotys, King of

Armenia the leſs, who thence became a ſhort obſtacle, but by letters from the Emperor was awed into acquieſcence. Hence the whole devolved upon Mithridates, who fell however into meaſures more violent than befitted a Prince newly eſtabliſhed. As to the Parthian competitors; in the heat of their preparations for a battle, they all on a ſudden ſtruck a league, alarmed as they were by a conſpiracy of the Parthians againſt both, but firſt diſcovered to Gotarzes, and by him to his brother Bardanes. In the beginning of their interview, they were ſhy and diffident, at laſt ventured to join hands, then ſwore upon the altar of the Gods, to revenge the treaſon of their mutual enemies, and even to reſign to each other. But, as Bardanes was held more worthy to retain the Monarchy; Gotarzes, in order to remove with himſelf all ground of jealouſy, retired far into Hyrcania. To Bardanes, upon his return, Seleucia was ſurrendered in the ſeventh year of its ſiege; ſo long had that ſingle city ſuſtained its independency, and baffled the power of Parthia, to the ſignal diſgrace of the Parthian Monarchy.

He next took poſſeſſion of the moſt potent provinces, and had recovered Armenia, but that Vibius Marſus, Lieutenant of Syria, reſtrained him, by threatening him with war. In the mean time, Gotarzes, regretting his conceſſion of the Kingdom, and again recalled by the nobility, whoſe bondage is ever moſt rigorous during peace, formed an army, and was met as far as the river Charinda by Bardanes, who, after an obſtinate fight in diſputing the paſſage, remained conqueror, and thence, by a continued courſe of victories, ſubdued all the nations lying between that river and the Gyndes, which parts the Dahans from the Arians. There the torrent of his conqueſts was obſtructed; for, the Parthians however victorious, refuſed proſecuting a war ſo remote from home. Structures being therefore raiſed, as

monuments

monuments of his grandeur and conqueſts, and to ſignify, that none of the Arſacides before him had from theſe nations exacted tribute, he returned, mighty, in truth, in glory, but thence the more imperious and inſupportable to his ſubjects, who therefore, by guile before concerted, ſlew him, while deſtitute of guards or apprehenſions, he was only intent upon the chace, in the flower of his youth, but poſſeſſed of ſuch high renown as few of the oldeſt Kings could have claimed, had he equally ſtudied the love of his people, as he did to awe his enemies. The aſſaſſination of Bardanes begot freſh ſtruggles amongſt the Parthians, divided as they were about filling the throne. Many adhered to Gotarzes; ſome propoſed Meherdates, the grand-ſon of Phrahates, and by him given in hoſtage to the Romans. Gotarzes prevailed, but was no ſooner eſtabliſhed, but by an abandoned courſe of cruelties and luxury, he forced the Parthians upon ſecret recourſe to the Roman Emperor, ſolliciting for Meherdates to occupy the dominions of his anceſtors.

Under the ſame Conſuls were celebrated the Secular Games, eight hundred years after the founding of Rome, ſixty-four ſince they had been exhibited by Auguſtus. The ſeveral purpoſes of theſe Princes in theſe Games I paſs over here, as already largely recounted by me in my Hiſtory of the Emperor Domitian; for he too preſented Secular Games, at which I aſſiſted in perſon, and the more aſſiduouſly, as I was inveſted with the Quindecemviral Prieſthood, and at that time Prætor; a circumſtance which from no vain-glory I inſert, but becauſe formerly the College of fifteen preſided in that feſtival, and the Magiſtrates chiefly diſcharged the offices of the ſolemnity. Whilſt Claudius was beholding the Games in the Circus, and the boys of quality repreſented on horſeback the ſiege of Troy, amongſt them particularly Britannicus the Emperor's ſon,

with Lucius Domitius, who was afterwards adopted into the Claudian family by the name of Nero, and ſucceeded to the Empire; the affections of the populace appeared more paſſionate for Domitius; a thing which paſſed then for a propitious omen, and thence furniſhed a common tradition, "That in "his infancy two dragons, poſted like guards, were "ſeen about him;" a fable framed in imitation of the miraculous tales current in foreign nations. For, Nero himſelf, a Prince who never abridged his own fame, was wont to declare, that in his chamber was never beheld but one ſnake only.

In truth, this partiality of the people accrued from the memory of Germanicus, from whom he was the only deſcendent of the male kind; and the popular commiſeration towards his mother Agrippina, roſe in proportion to the cruel vengeance of Meſſalina, always her inveterate enemy, and now inflamed with freſh rage; inſomuch that, if ſhe did not juſt then forge crimes and ſuborn accuſers to deſtroy that Lady, it was owing only to a new amour which poſſeſſed her with a paſſion bordering upon fury. She was ſo vehemently enchanted with the perſon of Caius Silius, the moſt beautiful of all the Roman youth, that ſhe obliged him to divorce his wife Junia Silana, a Lady of high quality, in order to poſſeſs alone the embraces of the adulterer. Nor was Silius unapprized of his crime, nor of the doom which threatened him; but, it was deſtruction without reſource, if he withſtood Meſſalina, and glorious rewards were to be the fruits of his compliance. There were ſome hopes too of blinding Claudius; ſo that he held the pleaſanteſt counſel the ſafeſt, to wait future and diſtant conſequences, and to indulge preſent proſperity. The Empreſs, far from purſuing her amour by theft and privacy, frequented his houſe openly, with a numerous train, accompanied him inceſſantly abroad, loaded him with wealth, covered him with

honours;

honours; and, in ſhort, as if the fortune of the Empire had been transferred with the Emperor's wife, at the houſe of her adulterer were already ſeen the ſlaves, freedmen, and equipage of the Prince.

Claudius was a ſtranger to the diſorders of his wife, and then exerting the authority of Cenſor. He corrected the people by ſevere Edicts for ſome late inſtances of their licentiouſneſs, as they had, at the repreſentation of a dramatic piece compoſed by Publius Pomponius, reviled that Conſular in the public Theatre, with ſeveral Ladies of illuſtrious quality. He was likewiſe the author of a Law to reſtrain the mercileſs iniquity of the Uſurers, in lending money to young men, to be repaid with increaſe upon the death of their fathers. The ſprings that riſe in the Simbruine Hills were by him brought to Rome; and to the Roman Alphabet he added new Letters, having learnt that even thoſe of Greece were not at once deviſed and compleated.

The Ægyptians firſt of all others repreſented their ſentiments by the figures of animals; and theſe Hieroglyphics carved upon ſtone, the moſt ancient monuments of human memory, are ſtill to be ſeen. That nation boaſt themſelves "the original inventors "of Types, and that the Phœnicians having thence "learnt them, they, who were mighty in commerce "and the dominion of the ſeas, carried the fame "into Grecce, and aſſumed the glory of an inven-"tion which they themſelves were taught." For, the general tradition is, "that Cadmus arriving "there in the Phœnician fleet, inſtructed the Greeks "in that art, a people as yet rude and uncultivated." Some hold, that "Cecrops the Athenian, or Linus "of Thebes, and Palamedes the Argive, who liv-"ed during the times of Troy, deviſed ſixteen "Letters; and that by others afterwards, eſpeci-"ally by Simonides, the reſt were added." As to Italy, the Etruſcans learned them of Damaratus

the Corinthian, the native Latins of Evander the Arcadian; and the faſhion of the Latin Types were the ſame with thoſe of the ancient Greeks. But we too had few at firſt, till from time to time the reſt were ſupplied; and now Claudius, by the example of others, added three more, which continued in uſe during his own reign, and were thenceforth aboliſhed, but are to this day ſeen in the tables of braſs on which are publiſhed the decrees of the people, and which hang in the Temples and great ſquares.

He next made a repreſentation to the Senate concerning the College of Soothſayers; "that they "would not ſuffer the moſt ancient diſcipline of "Italy to be loſt through diſuſe. The Common-"wealth was ever wont, during her times of cala-"mity, to have recourſe to thoſe of that ſcience, in "order to retrieve by their counſel the ſacred cere-"monies from neglect and corruptions, and to cul-"tivate them thereafter with more ſtrict obſervance. "Thus the nobility of Etruria, whether from their "own zeal, or by appointment of the Roman Se-"nate, had always preſerved thoſe myſteries them-"ſelves, and conveyed the ſame down to their poſte-"rity; a laudable uſage, but now faintly obſerved, "through an univerſal indifference for all worthy "arts, and more eſpecially through the prevalence "of foreign ſuperſtitions. It was true, indeed, that "the Republic at preſent proſpered, but her proſ-"perity was purely to be referred to the benignity of "the Gods; nor during proſperity ought they to "abandon thoſe ſolemn rites, which in ſeaſons of "difficulty had been ever zealouſly cultivated." Hence the Senate decreed, "That the Pontiffs "ſhould enquire what parts in the myſtery of ſooth-"ſaying ought to be retained and confirmed.

The ſame year, the Cheruſcan nation had recourſe to Rome for a King. The rage of their own do-

meſtic

meſtic wars had ſwept away their principal chiefs; and of the Royal ſtock only one remained, who reſided in the City, his name Italicus, ſon to Flavius the brother of Arminius, and by his mother grandſon to Catumerus Prince of the Cattians. He was himſelf a handſome perſon, and in horſemanſhip and the exerciſe of arms ſpecially trained, as well according to the manner of his own country as that of ours. The Emperor therefore furniſhed him with expences and guards, and exhorting him, "to aſſume with mag-"nanimity his hereditary grandeur," reminded him withal "that being born at Rome, nor held as a "hoſtage there, but living in the full immunity of "a native Citizen, he was the firſt who went in "that character to rule over a ſtrange people." His acceſſion was, indeed, at firſt, matter of joy to the Germans, and ſo much the more, for that having had no ſhare in their civil diſſenſions, he acted with equal courteſy towards them all. Hence his conduct became popular and renowned, as ſometimes he ſtudied only affability and moderation, habits that could provoke none; often gave a looſe to carrouſels and the gratifications of wantonneſs, ſuch as the Barbarians delight in. So that his name was already famous amongſt the adjacent nations, and even amongſt nations more remote; when they, who had born ſway in the reign of factions, taking umbrage at his prevailling power, betook themſelves to the ſeveral neighbouring people, and repreſented to them, "That the ancient liberty of Germany "was extirpated, and over the Germans the Roman "yoke eſtabliſhed. Could not, indeed, their whole "country furniſh one native Cheruſcan worthy to "ſuſtain the Sovereignty; but at the head of their "State they muſt ſet the offspring of Flavius, the "offspring of a traitor and a ſpy for the Romans? "In vain was alledged his kindred to Arminius; "ſince even the ſon of Arminius were to be dread-

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" ed in the ſame ſtation, if bred in a hoſtile ſoil,
" poiſoned with foreign nurture, debaſed by foreign
" ſlavery, inured to foreign manners, and every
" thing foreign. But, for this ſon of Flavius, if
" he inherited the ſpirit of his father, never had
" man waged war with fiercer enmity againſt his
" native country and his own houſehold Gods, than
" the father of this Italicus."

By theſe and the like ſtimulations, they procured and aſſembled numerous forces; nor was Italicus followed by fewer, as on his behalf his followers argued, " That he had by no invaſion ſeized the
" throne, but held it by their own invitation; and
" ſince in blood he excelled all others, it became
" them to try whether in bravery he would ſhew
" himſelf worthy of his grand-father Catumerus.
" Nor was it any ground of ſhame to the ſon, that
" his father had never violated that faith towards
" the Romans, which with the approbation of the
" Germans he had ſworn. But ſhameleſly and
" falſly was the ſound of liberty urged by thoſe,
" who, degenerate in their own lives, and deſtruc-
" tive by their practices to the public weal, placed
" their only hopes in rending their country by
" civil diſcord." The King had the zeal and acclamations of the people, and in a great battle between theſe hoſts of Barbarians, he acquired the victory. Thenceforward he became tranſported with his good fortune, grew imperious, and was expelled, but again reſtored by the forces of the Longobards; and, in theſe ſtruggles he continued, as well by his ſucceſſes as misfortunes, to afflict the Cheruſcan ſtate.

About the ſame time the Chaucians, engaged now in no domeſtic diſſentions, and animated by the death of Sanquinius Governor of lower Germany, made incurſions into that Province, before Corbulo arrived to ſucceed him. For their leader they had

Gannaſcus,

Gannaſcus, of the country of the Caninefates, one who had long ſerved the Romans amongſt their auxiliaries, but deſerted, and following the practice of pyracy, infeſted the neighbouring coaſts, and above all terribly ravaged the coaſts of Gaul, a nation whom he knew to be rich and unwarlike. But when Corbulo entered the province, where, in this his firſt military command, he laid the foundation of his eminent future glory, he diſpatched with great diligence the galleys down the Rhine, and the other veſſels along the lakes and canals, according to their different ſizes and burden. Thus, having ſunk the enemy's wherries, and put Gannaſcus to flight, he took order firſt for ſettling effectually the ſtate of the Province, and then reſtored the ancient diſcipline amongſt the Legions, who were now utter ſtrangers to military toils and application, and had been long employed in depredations only. Under Corbulo no man durſt ſtir from his rank, none, without expreſs orders, durſt attack the foe. Accoutred with all their arms, they were forced to keep guard and ſtand centry; and whatever duties they performed, under all their arms they performed them. It is even reported, "That he puniſhed a ſoldier with death, "for digging in the trenches without his ſword, "and another for being there armed only with his "dagger." Inſtances, in truth, of ſeverity without meaſure; but whether forged or aggravated, they ſtill owed their riſe to the rigid ſpirit of that Captain: ſo that it was manifeſt how inexorable in flagrant enormities he muſt be, who was thought capable of ſuch unrelenting aſperity for offences ſo ſmall.

This terror, however, affected the army and the enemy different ways; by it the Romans increaſed in bravery, and the ferocity of the Barbarians was abated. Hence the Frizians, who after their rebellion, begun with the defeat of Lucius Apronius, had continued in hoſtility, or in uncertain and faith-

leſs

leſs allegiance, ſent us new hoſtages, and ſettled themſelves in the territory aſſigned them by Corbulo. Over them he inſtituted a Senate, Magiſtrates, and Laws; and, to enſure their ſubjection, amongſt them planted a garriſon. He likewiſe diſpatched proper perſons to ſollicit the Chaucians to ſubmiſſion, and at the ſame time, by guile to aſſail Gannaſcus. The ſnare ſucceeded; neither did the practice of ſnares towards a deſerter, one who had broke his faith, debaſe the Roman magnanimity. Yet, by his aſſaſſination, the minds of the Chaucians were enflamed, and by it Corbulo furniſhed them with matter of rebellion. Thus, his proceedings, though applauded by many, gave umbrage to others. "Why, "they ſaid, would he be wantonly exciting a peo- "ple to arms? Upon the Commonwealth muſt "light all the diſaſters of the war; but, if ſucceſs "attended him, then would ſuch a ſignal Com- "mander prove terrible to the quiet of the State, "and, to a daſtardly Prince, inſupportable." Hence Claudius became ſo thoroughly bent againſt all further irruptions into Germany, that he ordered him to lead back all the Roman forces over the Rhine.

Corbulo was already encamping in the enemy's country, when theſe orders were delivered him; and though many different apprehenſions at once overwhelmed his ſpirit, his dread of the Emperor, the ſcorn of the Barbarians, the deriſion of the Allies; yet without uttering more than that, "happy "were the Roman Captains of old," he ordered the retreat to be ſounded. However, to prevent the ſoldiers from relapſing into a habit of idleneſs, he employed them in digging a Canal three and twenty miles long between the Meuſe and the Rhine; by it to open a receptacle for the high tides, and prevent inundations. The Emperor nevertheleſs allowed him the decorations of Triumph, though he had denied him the proſecution of the war.

Shortly

Shortly after, the ſame honour was conferred on Curtius Rufus, who, in the territory of the Mattiacians had opened ſome ſilver mines, a ſource of ſmall advantage, nor of long continuance; but to the Legions it created eminent labour and damage, as they were forced to cut deep ſluices, and toil under the earth at works which even in open air are hard and rigorous. The ſoldiers therefore, overcome by theſe hardſhips, and perceiving that the ſame drudgeries were exacted from them in ſeveral Provinces, wrote ſecretly to the Emperor, and in the name of the Armies beſought him, "that "whomſoever he intended for the Command of "the Legions, he would firſt reward them with the "triumphal honours."

Concerning the original of Curtius Rufus, who by ſome is repreſented as the ſon of a Gladiator, I ſhould be ſorry to publiſh a falſe account, and I am alſo tender of recounting that which is true. As ſoon as he was grown to a man, he followed a Roman Quæſtor into Africa; and, at the City of Adrumetum, while he walked under the piazza, in the middle of the day, the viſion of a woman above human ſize appeared before him, and accoſted him with theſe words; "Thou, Rufus, art one who "ſhalt hereafter come into this Province with Pro-"conſular authority." Inſpired with hopes from this preſage, he returned to Rome, where, by the largeſſes of his friends, and the vigour of his own ſpirit, he gained the Quæſtorſhip; and ſtanding afterwards for the office of Prætor againſt the ſeveral candidates of the Nobility, carried it by the intereſt of Tiberius, who, as a ſhade to the ſordidneſs of his birth, gave him this encomium; "To me Curtius Rufus ſeems "to be deſcended from himſelf." After this, always a ſervile flatterer of thoſe above him, arrogant to his inferiors, and perverſe to his equals, he lived to a great age, arrived to the Conſular power, the

honours

honours of Triumph, laſtly to the Government of Africa; and, dying there, fulfilled the fatal preſage.

About the ſame time Cneius Novius a Roman Knight, was diſcovered armed with a dagger in the throng of thoſe who were paying their court to the Prince; but, upon what motives, was no wiſe apparent then, nor ever afterwards learnt. For though, when rent by the rack, he at laſt confeſſed his own deſign, his accomplices he never diſcloſed; whether he would not, or had none, is uncertain. Under the ſame Conſuls it was moved by Publius Dolabella, "that a public entertainment of Gladiators ſhould "be yearly exhibited at the charge of ſuch as ob-"tained the office of Quæſtors." An office, which in the days of our anceſtors was only the price of virtue; and indeed to every Roman, if he confided in his own qualifications, it was free to ſue for every Magiſtracy; nor was want of years held any obſtruction, but that ſome, even in their early youth, might become Conſuls and Dictators. As to the Quæſtorſhip, it was as ancient as our Kings, as is manifeſt from the Law Curiata, revived by Lucius Brutus; and the power of chuſing Quæſtors continued in the Conſuls, till the people would aſſume the conferring of that honour alſo. So that Valerius Potitus and Æmilius Mamercus, the firſt popular Quæſtors, were created twenty-three years after the expulſion of the Tarquins, and appointed to attend the armies; upon the multiplication of buſineſs, two more were afterwards added, to officiate at Rome. After a long interval, all Italy being now tributary, and large revenues growing from the Provinces, the number was doubled. Sylla next, in order to fill the Senate, upon which he had devolved the authority of adjudging cauſes, created twenty; and though the Equeſtrian Order had ſince recovered the deciſion of ſuits, yet the Quæſtorſhip continued ſtill to be, by the rule of merit, gratuitouſly

touſly granted, till by this motion of Dolabella, it was expoſed, as it were, to ſale by auction.

In the Conſulſhip of Aulus Vitellius and Lucius Vipſanius, counſels were on foot about ſupplying the vacancies of the Senate; and, as the Nobility of that part of Gaul entitled Comata, had long ſince acquired the diſtinction of Confederates and Citizens of Rome, they now ſued for a common participation of her offices and honours. Hence many and various were the reaſonings of the public upon theſe their pretenſions, and the Prince was beſet with oppoſite parties and ſtruggles. He was told, "that "Italy was not fallen ſo low, but to her own Ca- "pital ſhe could furniſh a ſupply of Senators. Of "old her natives only, they who were of the ſame "blood with the Romans, ſufficed for ſuch re- "cruits to the Roman State. Nor was there any "pretence to condemn or amend the inſtitutions of "the ancient Republic, a Republic which inſpired "her Citizens with ſuch noble manners, that the "ſpirit and actions of the old Romans were ſtill "urged as venerable patterns of virtue and glory "to us their poſterity. Was it not ſufficient that "already the Venetians and Inſubrians had invad- "ed the Senate, unleſs a hoſt of foreigners too "be introduced, like an eſtabliſhment of captivity "and conqueſt? After this, what dignity would re- "main to the native Nobility? What means of "preferment to any poor Senator of Latium? By "theſe opulent Gauls all public honours would be "engroſſed, men whoſe fathers and fore-fathers "were at the head of hoſtile nations, ſlaughtered "our Armies, and at Aleſia beſieged the deified "Julius; inſtances theſe of later days; but more "horrible to recount were the ravages of the antient "Gauls, who with impious hands demoliſhed the "great Roman Altar, and defaced the Capitol. "They might, in truth, enjoy ſtill the title of Ro-

"man

" man Citizens; but, let not the glory of the Fathers,
" let not the luſtre of the Magiſtrates be proſtituted,
" and rendered the purchaſe and ſpoil of nations."

The Emperor was little affected by theſe and the like allegations, but, having preſently anſwered thoſe who made them, ſummoned the Senate, and ſpoke thus. " The anceſtors of my family, and
" the oldeſt of them, Attus Clauſus, who, though
" a Sabine born, was at once adopted a Roman
" Citizen, and enrolled in the number of Patricians,
" furniſh me with a leſſon, that with parallel mea-
" ſures I ought to maintain the Commonwealth,
" by transferring to ourſelves all men of ſignal me-
" rit where-ever found. For, I am not ignorant,
" that from Alba we had the Julii, from Camerium
" the Corruncani, and the Porcii from Tuſculum.
" But, to avoid the detail of ancient and ſingle
" adoptions, were not the Nobles of Etruria, the
" Nobles of Lucania, nay, thoſe of all Italy, called
" into the body of the Senate? At laſt our city and
" her privileges became bounded only by the Alps;
" inſomuch that, beſides the admiſſion of particu-
" lars, whole States and Nations became ingrafted
" into the Roman name. We had then ſolid peace
" at home, and our arms and reputation flouriſhed
" abroad, when the nations on the other ſide the
" Po were preſented with the rights of Citizens;
" and when, under the guiſe of planting, out of
" the Legions, Colonies all over the earth, and by
" incorporating with theſe our Colonies the moſt
" powerful of the natives, we thence ſupported and
" renewed our own exhauſted ſtate. Do we regret
" that the Balbi were tranſplanted to us from Spain,
" or men equally illuſtrious from the Narbon Gaul;
" they whoſe deſcendents remain yet with us, nor
" yield to us in their love of this our common
" country? What proved the bane of the Spartans
" and Athenians, States ſo potent in arms and con-

" queſts,

" queſts, but that they held for aliens whomſoever
" they conquered? Much greater was the wiſdom
" of Romulus, our founder, a Prince who ſaw ſe-
" veral people his enemies and his citizens, in one
" and the ſame day. Even over us Romans fo-
" reigners have been Kings; and, to commit Ma-
" giſtracies to the children of freedmen, is no in-
" novation, as many erroneouſly ſuppoſe, but a
" primitive practice of the old Roman people.
" But, it ſeems, we have had wars with the Gauls.
" What is the conſequence? Have the Volſcians,
" have the Equians never borne arms againſt us?
" It is true, our Capital has been taken by the
" Gauls; but by the Tuſcans we have been forced
" to give hoſtages, and by the Samnites to paſs un-
" der a gibbet. However, upon a review of all our
" wars, none will be found more quickly conclud-
" ed than thoſe with the Gauls; and ever ſince
" has enſued a peace never interrupted, and faith-
" fully obſerved. They are linked with us in pri-
" vate manners, in civil and military accompliſh-
" ments, and domeſtic alliances; and in this con-
" junction with us let them rather introduce amongſt
" us their gold and abundance, than enjoy them
" without our participation. All the things, Con-
" ſcript Fathers, which are now held moſt ancient
" in our State, were once new: the Plebeian Ma-
" giſtrates were later than the Patricians; the
" Latin Magiſtrates later than the Plebeian; thoſe
" of other nations in Italy came after the Latin:
" the preſent admiſſion of the Gauls will alſo wax
" old; and what is this day ſupported by examples,
" will itſelf hereafter become an example."

By a Decree of the Fathers, which followed this ſpeech, the Eduans firſt acquired the right of admiſſion into the Senate; the reward this of their ancient confederacy with Rome, and as they only of all the Gauls are entitled the Brethren of the Roman people.

people. About the ſame time, all the ancient Senators, with ſuch whoſe fathers had ſuſtained ſignal offices in the State, were by Claudius aſſumed into the claſs of Patricians. For, of all the families who by Romulus were named *the older Nobility*, or of thoſe added by Lucius Brutus, and called *the younger*, there were few remaining. Even ſuch whom Cæſar the Dictator by the Caſſian Law, and ſuch whom the Emperor Auguſtus by the Senian Law, had created Patricians, were now extinct. As theſe reformations made in the State by Claudius, in quality of Cenſor, were acceptable to the public, he proceeded in them with great alacrity; yet, how to degrade from the Senate thoſe who were of infamous characters, held him ſome time in ſuſpence; but, as he determined to apply rather a new and tender expedient, than to purſue the rigorous example of antiquity, he warned them, "to conſult their own qualifications, and "then aſk leave to reſign their order; a requeſt "eaſily to be obtained," and then he promiſed, "to name them as perſons removed by abdication, "at the ſame time that he would pronounce others "judicially expelled; that thus the credit of a moſt and voluntary reſignation, might ſoften and "hide the infamy of expulſion by the judgment of "the Cenſor." For theſe regulations, the Conſul Vipſanius propoſed, "that Claudius ſhould be called "the *Father of the Senate*; for that, the name of "*Father of his Country* was a common title; and "his extraordinary benefits to the Commonwealth "ought to be diſtinguiſhed with no ordinary appellations:" but the Emperor thought the flattery extravagant, and checked the Conſul. He then numbered the Citizens, who in that ſurvey amounted to ſix millions, nine hundred thouſand. From this time he remained no longer a ſtranger to his domeſtic reproach, but was brought to hear and puniſh the abominations of his wife; whence was to

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ariſe a new paſſion, and an inceſtuous marriage with his niece.

Meſſalina now diſdaining her daily adulteries, as too eaſy and common, was abandoning herſelf to the gratifications of luſt never before deviſed; when Silius too, by a fatal intoxication, or judging that the dangers hanging over him were only to be averted by dangerous remedies, urged to her, "that all "diſguiſes muſt now be caſt off, for they were "gone too far to venture waiting for the death of "the Emperor. To none but the guiltleſs were "unblameable counſels adapted. In glaring guilt "determined intrepidity was the only reſource. "They had accomplices at hand, ſuch as dreaded "the ſame doom; and for himſelf, he was ſingle, "childleſs, ready to marry her, and to adopt Bri-"tannicus: to Meſſalina ſhould ſtill remain her "preſent power; and certain ſecurity would abide "both, if they prevented Claudius, one ſo eaſily "circumvented, but ſo prone withal to vengeance." Theſe words were but coolly received by Meſſalina, from no love to her husband; but ſhe feared that Silius, when he had gained the Sovereignty, would ſcorn his old adultereſs; and the treaſon, which, to avoid his preſent peril, he now recommended, would then be conſidered and repaid according to its genuine value. She, however, coveted the fame of this ſtrange matrimony, purely for the enormous meaſure of infamy; which to ſuch as are abandoned to debauchery, is the laſt improvement of voluptuouſneſs. Neither ſtaid ſhe longer than till Claudius went to Oſtia, to aſſiſt at a ſacrifice there, and then celebrated her new Nuptials with all the uſual ſolemnities.

I am well aware how fabulous it will appear, that ſuch blind ſecurity ſhould poſſeſs any human heart, much more that a Conſul elect, ſhould, in a city informed of all things, and concealing nothing, dare

dare to marry the Emperor's wife, at a ſtated day, witneſſes called to ſign the contract, with a declaration inſerted that by it children were intended; that the Emperor's wife ſhould eſpouſe another husband in form, hear the ſolemn words of the Augurs, ſacrifice ſolemnly to the Gods, celebrate with him in a great company the nuptial Feaſts, and in the preſence of all exchange kiſſes and embraces, and paſs the night in the conſummation of conjugal joys. Yet I frame no fiction, to excite wonder, but only relate what from the living or written teſtimony of our fathers I have learned.

Horror ſeized the Prince's family, eſpecially thoſe who had the chief ſway, who dreaded a Revolution; and, uttering no longer their indignation in ſecret, they ſtormed aloud, "That while the Emperor's "bed-chamber was polluted by a player, high re-"proach was in truth incurred, but diſſolution no "wiſe threatened the State. At preſent a young "man of the prime Nobility, in the beauty of his "perſon ſurpaſſing all men, of a ſpirit vigorous and "capable, and juſt entering upon the Conſulſhip, "was purſuing views much higher; nor was it any "riddle, what ſuch a marriage tended to produce." It is true, when they recollected the ſtupidity of Claudius, his blind attachment to his wife, and the many lives ſacrificed to her fury, their own apprehenſions diſmayed them. But again, even the paſſive ſpirit of the Emperor revived their confidence, that, if they could firſt poſſeſs him with the horrid blackneſs of her crimes, ſhe might be diſpatched without trial; or, if ſhe obtained to be heard, and even confeſſed her guilt, they might yet ſtop his ears, and fruſtrate her defence.

But firſt it was in agitation, whether ſtill to diſſemble her paſt enormities, and by ſecret menaces deter her from her league with Silius. This was a project propoſed by the principal freedmen, by Calliſtus,

whom in relating the aſſaſſination of Caligula, I have already mentioned, by Narciſſus, who plotted the ſacrifice of Appius, and by Pallas, then the reigning favourite; but a project afterwards dropped, as from alarming Meſſalina they apprehended their own doom. Pallas was faint-hearted, and Calliſtus, a courtier in the laſt reign alſo, had experienced, that power was ſupported more ſecurely by wary meaſures, than by daring counſels. Narciſſus perſiſted in his purpoſe, with this difference only, that ſhe ſhould be by no words of his pre-acquainted with the accuſation or the accuſer. Thus, watching all occaſions, while the Emperor lingered at Oſtia, he prevailed, by gifts and promiſes, with two courtezans, to undertake the accuſation; ſince, as they were the chief miſtreſſes of Claudius, the freedman urged to them, "That by the fall of his wife, their "own authority would become predominant."

Calpurnia therefore, (for that was her name) upon the firſt offer of privacy, falling at the Emperor's feet, cried out, "That Meſſalina had married "Silius," and at the ſame time aſked Cleopatra, who purpoſely attended to atteſt it, "Whether "ſhe had not found it to be true?" Claudius, upon a confirmation from Cleopatra, ordered Narciſſus to be called. He, when he came, begged pardon, that he had concealed her adulteries with Vectius, and thoſe with Plautius; "nor meant he now, he ſaid, "to urge againſt her any of her adulteries, nor even "that the Emperor ſhould reclaim his palace, his "ſlaves, and the other decorations of his Imperial "fortune. Let her adulterer ſtill enjoy even theſe; "let him only break the nuptial tables, and reſtore "the Emperor his wife. Knoweſt thou, Cæſar, "that thou art in a ſtate of divorce? it is what all "men know, the people, and Senate, and ſoldiery, "and, if thou makeſt not diſpatch, her new hus-"band is Sovereign of Rome.

He then ſent for his moſt truſty friends, particularly for Turranius, Superintendant of the ſtores, next for Luſius Geta, Captain of the Prætorian Guards, and propoſed the queſtion to them. As they vouched it to be true, all the reſt contended in clamour and importunity, that he ſhould forthwith proceed to the Camp, ſecure the Prætorian Cohorts, and conſult his preſervation before his revenge. It is certain, that Claudius was confounded with ſuch a degree of dread, that he inceſſantly aſked, "Whether he were yet Emperor? Whether Silius "was ſtill a private man?" As to Meſſalina, ſhe never wallowed in greater voluptuouſneſs; as it was then the middle of Autumn, in her houſe ſhe exhibited a repreſentation of the vintage. The wine-preſſes were plied, the wine-vats flowed, and round them danced women begirt with ſkins, practiſing the frantic agitations of the drunken ſacrificers to Bacchus. She herſelf, with her hair looſe and flowing, held a Thyrſus and waved it, accompanied by Silius, who was crowned with ivy, his legs in buſkins, and brandiſhing his head; and about him revelled, in wanton poſtures, the chanting choir of mock Prieſts. It is reported, that Vectius Valens, having, in a frolic, vaulted to the top of an exceeding high tree, was aſked, what he beheld, and anſwered, "a ſtorm from Oſtia." Whether he in truth ſaw a troubled ſky, or ſpoke at random, it proved in effect a true preſage.

For, it was no longer a rumour only, but meſſengers were hourly arriving with tidings, "That "Claudius was apprized of all, and approached, "bent upon vengeance." Meſſalina therefore betook herſelf to the Gardens of Lucullus; and Silius, to diſſemble his fear, reſumed the offices of the Forum. As all the reſt fled different ways, the Centurions caught and bound them, ſome abroad, ſome in private places, as faſt as they could diſcover them.

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Meſſalina, however bereft of reſources under ſuch weighty calamity, yet formed no daſtardly purpoſe, even that of meeting her husband, and moving him by her preſence, an expedient which had often proved her protection. She likewiſe ordered that Britannicus and Octavia ſhould go forth and embrace their father; and beſought Vibidia, the oldeſt Veſtal, to intercede with the chief Pontiff, and implore his mercy. She herſelf the while wandered on foot all along the City, attended only by three perſons (ſo ſuddenly had her whole train forſaken her in diſgrace) and then, in a cart employed to carry dirt from the Gardens, took the road to Oſtia, but found no ſoul to pity her, as the deformity of her abominations had prevailed over all commiſeration.

The Emperor was, notwithſtanding, poſſeſſed with no leſs affright; for, he could not intirely rely on the faith of Geta Captain of his guards, a man equally fickle to embark in deſigns honourable or baſe. Narciſſus therefore, in concert with thoſe who entertained the ſame fears and miſtruſt, aſſured the Emperor, "That there was no other expedient to "preſerve him, than the transferring the command "of his guards upon one of his freedmen, for that "day only," and offered himſelf to undertake it. And, that Lucius Vitellius, and Publius Largus Cæcina, might not, upon the road to Rome, prevail with Claudius to relent, he deſired leave to ſit in the ſame coach, and took it.

There was afterwards a prevailing report, that, though the Emperor was agitated different ways, and wavered in his talk, now taxing the abominations of his wife, then recalling the endearments of their marriage, and the tender age of their children, Vitellius uttered nothing but, "Oh heinous! oh "the iniquity!" Narciſſus, in truth, laboured to drive him from his equivoques, and bring him to ſome expreſs declaration, but, with all his labour,

gained nothing: Vitellius ſtill anſwered indirectly, in terms that would admit of any conſtruction, and his example was followed by Largus Cæcina. Beſides, Meſſalina was already in ſight, and importunately cried, "that he would hear the mother of "Octavia and Britannicus??" To drown her cries, the accuſer ſtormed aloud againſt Silius, and her late marriage, and delivered at the ſame time to Claudius a memorial, reciting all her whoredoms, thence to divert him from beholding her. Soon after, as the Emperor was entering Rome, it was attempted to preſent him his children by her; but Narciſſus ordered them to be taken thence; he could not, however, force away Vibidia, who inſiſted, with much earneſtneſs, "That Cæſar would not ſur-"render his wife to deſtruction without admitting "her defence." So that Narciſſus was obliged to aſſure her, that the Prince would hear Meſſalina, who ſhould have full opportunity of clearing herſelf, and adviſed the Veſtal to retire, and attend the ſolemnities of her Goddeſs.

Wonderful, during all this, was the ſilence of Claudius. Vitellius affected aſtoniſhment, and the freedman controuled all things. By his command, the houſe of the adulterer was opened, and the Emperor carried thither, where firſt he ſhewed him, in the porch, the Statue of Silius the father, though the ſame had been decreed to be demoliſhed by the Senate; and, within, all the ſumptuous furniture belonging to the Neros and Druſi, now the price and monuments of his wife's proſtitution, and of his own diſgrace. Having thus inflamed him, and worked him up to threats and fury, he led him ſtreight to the camp, where the ſoldiers being already aſſembled, Claudius, prompted by Narciſſus, made them a ſhort ſpeech; for the eruptions of his diſpleaſure, however juſt, were reſtrained by ſhame. Hence inſtantly began a general and importunate

clamour

clamour for the names and doom of the criminals, and Silius was preſented before the Imperial Tribunal, where, neither offering any preſent defence, nor endeavouring to procraſtinate, he only beſought a diſpatch of his doom. The like paſſion for ſudden execution, alſo ſtimulated ſeveral illuſtrious Roman Knights. He therefore commanded Titius Proculus, given by Silius as a guard to Meſſalina, Vectius Valens, who confeſſed his guilt, and offered to diſcover others, Pompeius Urbicus and Saufellus Trogus, as accomplices, to be all dragged to execution. On Decius Calpurnianus too, Præfect of the watch, Sulpicius Rufus, Comptroller of the Sports; and Juncus Virgilianus, the Senator, the ſame pains were inflicted.

Mneſter only created ſome heſitation; he tore off his garments and cried, "That the Emperor 'might behold upon his body the impreſſions of 'the laſh; might remember his own commands, 'obliging him to gratify Meſſalina without reſerve. 'Others had been tempted to the iniquity by great 'preſents or mighty hopes; but his offence was 'only owing to compulſion, nor would any man 'have ſooner periſhed had Silius gained the Sove-'reignty." Theſe conſiderations affected Claudius, and greatly biaſſed him to mercy; but his freedmen over-ruled him; "for that after ſo many illuſtrious 'ſacrifices, he would by no means think of ſaving 'a Player, whoſe crime was of that enormity, that 'it availed not whether through choice or force he 'had committed it." As ſmall effect had the defence of Traulus Montanus. This was a youth of ſignal modeſty and lovelineſs, called by the expreſs order of Meſſalina to her bed, and, after one night, caſt off; with ſuch equal wantonneſs was her paſſion ſurfeited and inflamed! To Suilius Ceſoninus, and Plautius Lateranus, their lives were granted, to the laſt on account of the noble exploits of his

uncle; the other was protected by his vileneſs, as one who, in the late abominable revel, had proſtituted himſelf like a woman.

Meſſalina was the while in the Gardens of Lucullus, ſtill ſtriving to prolong life, and therefore compoſing ſupplications to the Prince, in a ſtrain of ſome hopes, and even with ſallies of reſentment and wrath. Such were the ſwellings of her pride, though encompaſſed with the horrors of her approaching fate. In truth, had not Narciſſus haſtened her aſſaſſination, the doom which he had prepared for her, would have rebounded upon his own head. For Claudius, upon his return home, having well feaſted upon the rarities of the ſeaſon, and becoming jovial, as ſoon as he became warm with wine, ordered them 'to go and acquaint the miſer-'able woman,' (for this was the appellation which he is ſaid to have uſed) 'that to morrow ſhe ſhould 'attend and plead her cauſe." When theſe words were reported, as his reſentment alſo viſibly abated, and his wonted affections were returning; beſides, ſince the impreſſions of the following night, and of the conjugal chamber, were apprehended as the certain effects of delay, Narciſſus ran haſtily forth, and directed the Tribune and Centurions then attending upon duty, 'to diſpatch the execution, for 'ſuch was the Emperor's command." With them he ſent Evodus of the freedmen, as a watch upon them, to ſee his orders ſtrictly fulfilled. Evodus flew in a moment to the Gardens, and found her lying along upon the earth. By her ſat her mother Lepida, who, during her proſperity, had lived in no degree of unanimity with her, but, in this her deadly diſtreſs, was overcome by compaſſion for her, and now perſuaded her, 'to anticipate the execu-'tioner; the courſe of her life was now finally run, 'and ſhe was now confined to one only purſuit, of 'dying with renown." But her ſoul, utterly corrupted

rupted by debauchery, retained no reliſh of glory. She continued bewailing herſelf with tears and vain complaints, till the ſoldiers forced the doors. The Tribune ſtood before her, without opening his mouth, but the freedman abuſed her unmeaſurably, with all the brutal invectives of a ſlave.

She was then firſt convinced of the fate that hung over her, and, laying hold on the ſteel, aimed firſt at her throat, then at her breaſt, but while an irreſolute ſpirit and a quaking hand fruſtrated her aim, the Tribune ran her through. Her corps was granted to her mother. Claudius was yet purſuing his good cheer, when tidings were carried to him, "That Meſſalina had ſuffered her deſtiny," but without the addition of particulars, whether by her own, or another hand; neither did he enquire; he even called for a bowl of wine, and proceeded in the uſual gayeties of banquetting. Nor did he, in truth, during the following days, manifeſt any ſymptom of deteſtation or joy, of reſentment or ſadneſs, nor, in ſhort, of any human affection; unmoved by beholding the accuſers of his wife exulting over her death, untouched by the ſight of his children bewailing the doom of their mother. The Senate helped him to forget her, by decreeing, 'That from 'all public and private places her Name ſhould be 'razed, and her Pictures and Statues removed." To Narciſſus were decreed the decorations of the Quæſtorſhip. This, however, was but a ſmall monument of his grandeur, ſeeing he had now exerted an inſtance of power ſuperior to that of Pallas and Calliſtus, an inſtance juſt in effect, but from whence, in time, aroſe moſt pernicious conſequences, as the deſerved puniſhment of Meſſalina proved the ſource of flagrant iniquities which eſcaped unpuniſhed.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XII.

The SUMMARY.

Conteſts amongſt the Freedmen about the choice of a wife for the Emperor. Agrippina, *his own niece, is preferred, and the marriage decreed lawful by the Senate.* L. Silanus *kills himſelf, and why.* Seneca *recalled from baniſhment.* Octavia, *the daughter of* Claudius, *betrothed to* Nero, *his wife's ſon. Deputies from Parthia apply to Rome for* Meherdates *to be their King. He is vanquiſhed in battle by* Gotarzes. Mithridates *tries to gain the Kingdom of Pontus, without ſucceſs. He is carried in chains to Rome.* Lollia, *a Lady of prime quality, condemned by the artifices of* Agrippina. Claudius *enlarges the circuit of Rome: Who they were that did ſo before him.* Nero *is adopted by* Claudius *for his Son. A colony ſettled amongſt the Ubians. The Cattians commit great ravages and depredations, but are routed.*

Vannius

Vannius *King of the Suevians driven from his Kingdom.* Pub. Oſtorius *his exploits in Britain: A victory gained over King* Caractacus *there.* Britannicus *the Emperor's Son, by the arts of* Agrippina, *ſlighted and poſtponed to* Nero. *All his moſt faithful domeſtics removed from him. Prodigies. Dearth of grain at Rome. War between the Armenians and Iberians: The Romans and Parthians take different parts in it.* Furius Scribonianus *doomed to exile. Puniſhment decreed againſt Ladies marrying their ſlaves Commotions in Judæa.* Claudius *cauſes a naval battle to be repreſented upon the lake Fucinus. With what power unlimited he inveſted his Comptrollers in the provinces. An utter exemption from taxes granted to the Iſle of Coos; alſo to the City of Byzantium, a remiſſion of tribute for five years.* Lepida, *a lady of high rank, doomed to die.* Claudius *poiſoned by procurement of his wife* Agrippina. Nero *her Son aſſumes the ſovereignty.*

UPON the execution of Meſſalina, diſtractions ſhook the Prince's family, as amongſt the freedmen a ſtrife aroſe, which of them ſhould chuſe a wife for Claudius, one impatient of a ſingle life, and always abandoned to the dominion of his wives. Nor were the Ladies animated by leſs emulation, whilſt they endeavoured preferably to recommend their own quality, wealth, and beauty, and each boaſted her juſt claim to imperial wedlock. The chief competition, however, lay between Lollia Paullina, daughter to Marcus Lollius a Conſular, and Julia Agrippina the daughter of Germanicus, the latter ſupported by the intereſt of Pallas, the other by that of Calliſtus. But, Ælia Petina, of the Tuberonian family, had the countenance of Narciſſus. For Claudius, as he was now bent upon one, then upon another, and always led by his laſt adviſer, he called together theſe his jarring counſellors,

lors, and ordered them to produce their ſeveral propoſals, and defend them.

Narciſſus alledged "his former marriage with "Petina, and their common daughter (for by her he had Antonia) "that ſuch a wife would never exercise the envious ſpirit of a ſtep-mother towards "Britannicus and Octavia, in blood ſo nearly allied "to her own children." Calliſtus argued, "that, "to recall her, after ſo long a diſlike and divorce, "would be the very means to heighten her indignation and pride. Lollia would be a much more "eligible match, who having no iſſue of her own, "was void of every motive of emulation to his, "but would uſe theſe her ſtep-children with the "tenderneſs of a real mother." Pallas chiefly recommended Agrippina from theſe conſiderations, That, "with her ſhe would bring the grandſon of Germanicus, and was herſelf worthy of imperial fortune, noble in her deſcent, and a proper band "to unite together to poſterity the Claudian family; "that ſhe was of tried fruitfulneſs, and in the "prime of her age; ſo that by this match, would "be prevented her carrying into another houſe the "blood and ſplendor of the Cæſars."

The reaſonings of Pallas prevailed, enforced, as they were, by the allurements and careſſes of Agrippina, who under ſhew of conſanguinity, was aſſiduous in her viſits to her uncle, and, though hitherto ſhe was only preferred to others, and not yet his wife; ſhe already exerciſed the power of one. For, as ſoon as ſhe had ſecured her own marriage, ſhe was framing higher purpoſes, and concerting a match between Domitius, her ſon by Cneius Ænobarbus, and Octavia, the Emperor's daughter, a deſign which without iniquity could not be accompliſhed, becauſe the Emperor had betrothed Octavia to Lucius Silanus, a youth of ſignal quality, whom Claudius had diſtinguiſhed with the triumphal ornaments, and, by the popular

mag-

magnificence of an entertainment of gladiators in his name, recommended to the notice and favour of the people. But nothing appeared insurmountable to the undiscerning spirit of a Prince, who had no judgment, nor choice, nor aversion, but such as were infused and managed by others.

Vitellius therefore, who foresaw into whose hands the sovereignty was hastening, to purchase the favour of Agrippina, became engaged in her counsels, and, under the plausible name of Censor covering his own servile falsities, began to devise crimes against Silanus, whose sister Junia Silana, a young lady gay and beautiful, had not long before been the daughter-in-law of Vitellius. Hence he took the scource of the accusation and wrested to a charge of incest the mutual affection of brother and sister, an affection no wise incestuous, however too free and unguarded. The Emperor listened to the charge, as his fondness for his daughter rendered him the more prone to entertain suspicions against his son-in-law. Silanus, unapprized of any machinations against him, and happening to be Prætor that year, was all on a sudden, by an edict of Vitellius, degraded from the rank of a Senator, notwithstanding that the Senate was reviewed, and the number fixed a good while before. Claudius, at the same time, withdrew his alliance, and Silanus was even compelled to renounce his magistracy; insomuch that his Prætorship, which of course expired next day, was for that day conferred upon Eprius Marcellus.

During the consulship of Caius Pompeius and Quintus Veranius, the contract of marriage between Claudius and Agrippina, was already ascertained by the public voice, and indeed by their own criminal commerce. They durst not however celebrate the nuptials, as there was no instance of an uncle's taking to wife his brother's daughter. Besides, it

was evidently inceſtuous, and if that conſideration were deſpiſed, it was apprehended that ſome avenging calamity might fall upon the ſtate. Theſe fears and delays continued, till Vitellius undertook to accompliſh it, by his own dexterity. He aſked the Emperor, "whether he would ſubmit to the "expreſs pleaſure of the people, and to the autho-"rity of the Senate;" Claudius anſwered, "that he "himſelf was one of the people, and could not "withſtand the voice and conſent of them all." Vitellius then deſired him to continue within the palace, and went himſelf to the Senate, where, after a ſolemn declaration, that he had ſomewhat to communicate of the higheſt importance to the commonwealth, he demanded leave to be heard before any other; then alledged, "that "the exquiſite and inceſſant labours of the Prince, "even thoſe of governing the world, called for al-"levation and ſupport, ſuch as, relieving him from "domeſtic cares, might leave him at full leiſure "to attend the intereſt of the whole. What, in "truth, was a more worthy conſolation to the "ſpirit of a Cenſor, than that of a wife a ſharer "in his croſſes and proſperity, one in whom he "could repoſe his moſt ſecret thoughts, and the care "of his tender infants? For, as to the ways of "ſenſuality and voluptuous pleaſures, he had never "followed them, but from his early youth prac-"tiſed ſtrict obedience to the laws."

After this plauſible introduction, which he found received by the Senate with mighty ſycophancy and applauſe, he again proceeded; "that ſeeing they all "with one mouth perſuaded the Prince to marry, "a Lady muſt be choſen ſignal in her deſcent, of "diſtinguiſhed fruitfulneſs, and religiouſly virtuous; "nor for theſe qualifications needed there be long "ſearch, ſince Agrippina, in the illuſtriouſneſs "of her race, excelled all others, had given proofs

of

" of her fruitfulneſs, and was endowed with ſuitable
" purity of manners. It was indeed a happy cir-
" cumſtance, that through the providence of the
" Gods, ſhe proved then a widow, that the Prince
" might take her to his bed without violating
" that of another, he who had ever confined
" himſelf to his own wives. They had heard
" from their fathers, nay, themſelves had ſeen,
" that Ladies were raviſhed from their huſbands,
" at the luſt and command of the Cæſars; a
" proceeding far from the moderate ſpirit of the
" preſent government, when the Emperor even
" eſtabliſhed a precedent by what authority Princes
" ought hereafter to marry. But, amongſt us
" it ſeemed an innovation to marry our brother's
" daughters, which yet is a uſage frequent in
" other nations, nor by any law forbidden to ours.
" The intermarriage of couſin-germans was a
" practice long unknown, yet in time waxed fre-
" quent. Cuſtoms were to be ſuited to exigencies,
" and this very novelty was one of thoſe things
" which would ſoon be followed and practiſed."

There were ſeveral Senators who declared with contending zeal, " that if the Emperor lingered " longer, they would compel him," and ruſhed warmly out of the Senate. The mixed multitude were likewiſe aſſembled, and proclaimed with ſhouts, " that the ſame was the voice and demand " of the Roman people." Nor did Claudius delay any further, but proceeded to the Forum, there to receive in perſon their acclamations, and thence entering the Senate, required " a decree to le-
" gitimate for ever the marriages between uncles
" and their brothers daughters." But notwith-ſtanding the law, no man was found addicted to this kind of alliance, except Titus Alledius Severus, a Roman Knight, and he only, as many believed, in court to Agrippina. From this moment,

the

the city aſſumed a different face, and all men tamely obeyed a woman, one who did not, like Meſſalina, render the Roman State ſubſervient only to her wantonneſs and amours, but over it eſtabliſhed a complete and maſculine bondage. Her carriage in public was ſevere, often haughty; at home ſhe indulged no impurity, unleſs where the ſame ſerved the purpoſes of her ſway; and for a guiſe to her inſatiate paſſion for money, ſhe pretended the ſupport of the ſovereignty.

On the day of the nuptials, Silanus ſlew himſelf; whether he had thus long entertained hopes of life, or invidiouſly choſe that day to accumulate public hate upon his perſecutors. His ſiſter Calvina was baniſhed Italy, and to her ſentence Claudius added an injunction to the Pontifs, 'that, accor-'ding to the inſtitution of King Tullus, they ſhould 'offer expiatory ſacrifices at the grove of Diana;" a ſource of mockery to all men, that penalties and luſtrations for inceſt ſhould be deviſed at ſuch a conjuncture, when inceſt was eſtabliſhed by law. For Agrippina; that ſhe might not be diſtinguiſhed and notorious only for the blackneſs of her deed, ſhe obtained for Annæus Seneca a revocation from exile, and with it the Prætorſhip, favours which ſhe ſuppoſed would prove well pleaſing to the public, on account of his ſingal eloquence and accompliſhments; beſides her views to the education of her ſon Domitius under ſuch a maſter, and to the uſe of his counſels for acquiring him the Empire. For Seneca, ſhe believed, would continue faithfully attached to her from ties of gratitude, and in ſecret enmity to Claudius, through reſentments of his ſufferings.

It was now thought expedient to proceed without further delay, and Memmius Pollio, Conſul elect, was gained, by vaſt promiſes, to move the Senate, that Claudius might be beſought "to

" betroth Octavia to Domitius," a match not unſuitable, indeed, to the equality of their ages, but introductory to the higheſt views. Pollio moved it much in the ſame words with thoſe lately uſed by Vitellius; Octavia was betrothed, and Domitius, beſides his former conſanguinity with the Emperor, becoming alſo his ſon-in-law, was raiſed to a parity with Britannicus, an elevation derived from the efforts of his mother, and from the devices of thoſe who having been the accuſers of Meſſalina, dreaded the vengeance of her ſon.

I have before related that Embaſſadors from the Parthians were ſent to Rome, to demand Meherdates for their King: they were at this time introduced into the Senate, where they opened their embaſſy to this effect; 'That they came not to ſeek 'the violation of treaties, which they were aware 'ſubſiſted between us and them; nor as revolters 'from the family of the Arſacides, but to call home 'the ſon of Vonones, the grandſon of Phrahates, 'as their deliverer from the tyranny of Gotarzes, 'equally inſupportable to the nobility and people. 'Already he had utterly butchered his own brothers, 'and his relations, and already extended the ſame 'cruelty to diſtant nobles and places; to their 'ſlaughter he was daily adding that of their wives 'and tender children, ſome of them yet unborn. 'He was a ſluggard in peace, and of wretched for-'tune in war, but would with acts of cruelty diſ-'guiſe his daſtardly ſpirit. With us the Parthians 'had an ancient friendſhip, founded upon public 'leagues; and it behoved us to ſuccour theſe our 'allies, in ſtrength great as ourſelves, and only in 'reverence yielding to us. It was true, the ſons of 'their Kings were given as pledges to the Romans; 'but therefore only given, that when the govern-'ment of Parthia became grievous, they might 'have recourſe to the Emperor and Senate, for a

'King

'King improved by the Roman manners, and thence 'worthier of the throne.'

When they had alledged theſe and the like arguments, Claudius made a ſpeech concerning the grandeur of the Romans, and the deferences ever paid to the ſame by the Parthians; and equalling himſelf with the deified Auguſtus, repreſented that from him alſo they had fought a King. He omitted to mention Tiberius, though he too had ſent them Kings. Upon Meherdates (who was preſent) he beſtowed proper admonitions, 'not to conſider his 'government as a lawleſs domination, nor his peo-'ple as ſlaves, but to remember himſelf and them 'in the tender relation of magiſtrate and fellow 'citizens; to cultivate juſtice and clemency, bleſ-'ſings unknown to Barbarians, and thence the more 'likely to pleaſe them." Then turning to the embaſſadors, he enlarged upon the praiſes of the young Prince, 'as one educated in the Roman diſcipline, 'himſelf of diſtinguiſhed modeſty,' yet adviſed them, 'to bear with the humours of their Kings, for in 'frequent changes, they could never find their in-'tereſt. For the Roman State, it was arrived to a 'ſaticty of glory, inſomuch that ſhe ſtudied the 'repoſe likewiſe of foreign Nations.' It was therefore given in commiſſion to Caius Caſſius governor of Syria, to conduct the young King to the banks of the Euphrates.

This Caſſius ſurpaſſed all thoſe of that time in the knowledge of the laws; for, in a long and general receſs from war, the military arts were forgot, and, during a ſettled peace, no difference appears between the daſtardly and the brave. Yet he ſeduloufly exerciſed the legions, carefully revived the ancient diſcipline, as far as without war the ſame could be revived, and acted with the ſame care and circumſpection, as if a formidable enemy had been at hand. Such conduct, he thought, became the

renown

renown of his anceſtors and the Caſſian family, a family celebrated even amongſt thoſe nations. He now encamped at Zeugma, a place where the river is moſt paſſable, and having called together thoſe by whoſe advice a King was ſought from Rome, as ſoon as the Parthian chiefs, and with them Agbarus King of the Arabs, were arrived, he repreſented to Meherdates, "that the Barbarians, in the firſt ſallies "of their ſpirit, were always violent, but cooled "by delays, or warped into treachery; ſo that, it "behoved him to accelerate the execution of his "enterpriſe." This good counſel was fruſtrated by the fraud of Agbarus, who detained the young King many days at the city of Edeſſa, yet unexperienced, and believing that the eſſence of Royal fortune was placed in luxury and riot. So that, though Carrhenes preſſed them by meſſengers, and aſſured them, that ſucceſs was certain, if they advanced with ſpeed, yet they neglected entering directly into Meſopotamia, though they were juſt upon its borders, but choſe, by a long circuit, to march to Armenia, an unſeaſonable march, for winter was already begun.

As they deſcended into the plains, wearied with the deep ſnow and ſteep mountains, Carrhenes joined them with his forces. Thence they paſſed the Tigris, and croſſed the country of the Adiabenians, Izates their King having publicly eſpouſed the intereſt of Meherdates, though ſecretly his inclinations were more ſincerely attached to Gotarzes. In paſſing the river, they took the city Ninos, the ancient ſeat of the Aſſyrian Empire, as alſo the caſtle of Arbela, ſo renowned in ſtory, for that the laſt battle between Darius and Alexander was there fought, and by it the Monarchy of Perſia diſſolved. Gotarzes the while was ſacrificing upon mount Sambulos to the Gods of the place. Amongſt theſe Hercules is principally adored, who, at ſtated times, is wont to warn the prieſts in a dream, "to pre-

"pare

" pare him horſes equipped for hunting, and place " them by the temple ;" and theſe horſes, as ſoon as they have fixed upon them certain quivers ſtuffed with arrows, gallop off and ſcour the foreſts, nor return till night, their arrows all ſpent, and themſelves exhauſted and blowing. Again, the God, in another viſion of the night, deſcribes to the prieſts the ſeveral tracts of the woods where he had ranged, and in them are found ſcattered up and down, the beaſts by him hunted down and ſlain.

As the forces of Gotarzes were not yet ſufficiently ſtrengthened, he uſed the river Corma for a rampart, and though daily by inſults and heralds challenged to battel, he ſtill procraſtinated, ſhifted ſtations, and employed emiſſaries the while to bribe the enemy, and wean them from their plighted faith ; inſomuch that firſt Izates, leader of the Adiabenians, preſently after Agbarus King of the Arabs, went off with both their armies ; a deſertion agreeable to the native fickleneſs of thoſe barbarous people, and even to their uſual policy. We have learned too by ſeveral trials, that they would rather aſk a King from Rome, than be governed by him. Meherdates, thus bereft of theſe powerful allies, and apprehending treaſonable purpoſes in thoſe who continued, determined, as his only remaining reſource, to commit the iſſue to chance, and riſque a battle ; nor did Gotarzes refuſe it, who was grown reſolute as his enemy was become weak. The conflict was great and bloody, and the event long in ſuſpence, till Carrhenes, having overthrown all that oppoſed him, purſuing his victory too far, was ſurrounded in the rear by a body of reſerve. This blow utterly blaſted all the hopes of Meherdates, who therefore truſting to the faith and promiſes of Parrhaces, a dependant of his father's, was by the traitor delivered in bonds to the conqueror. Gotarzes diſowning him " for " a kinſman, or one of the family of the Arſacides,"

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but reviling him, as "a foreigner and a Roman," ordered him to live with his ears cut off, as a vain inſtance of his own clemency, and towards us a monument of ſcorn. A diſeaſe ſoon after carried off Gotarzes; and Vonones, then governor of Media, was called to the throne, a Prince diſtinguiſhed by nothing memorable, fortunate or diſaſtrous; his reign was ſhort and inconſiderable, and the ſtate of Parthia devolved upon his ſon Vologeſes.

During this, Mithridates of Boſphorus, ſince the loſs of his territories, wandered from place to place; but, having learnt that Didius, the Roman commander, was thence withdrawn with the ſtrength of his army, and that Cotys, a young Prince void of experience, was left in his new kingdom with only a few cohorts under Julius Aquila, a Roman Knight; he ſlighted both, animated the neighbouring people to arms, drew over deſerters, and having thus aſſembled an army, exterminated the King of the Dandarides, and ſeized his dominions. Upon theſe tidings, and an apprehenſion, that he would inſtantly invade Boſphorus, Aquila and Cotys diſtruſting the power of their own forces, and being diverted too by Zorſines King of the Siracians, who had again taken up hoſtile arms, had recourſe themſelves to foreign aid, and diſpatched embaſſadors to Eunones Prince of the Adorſians. Nor was it hard to accompliſh this alliance, when they who ſought it, repreſented the imperial power of the Romans, in competition with Mithridates a vagabond and revolter. It was therefore accorded, "that Eunones "ſhould make head with the cavalry, and the Ro- "mans beſiege the towns."

The army was then formed, and marched in this order; the Adorſians compoſed the front and rear, the cohorts occupied the center, with thoſe of Boſphorus, armed like Romans. Thus they diſcomfited the enemy, and arrived at Soza, a city of the Dan-

Dandarides, now deſerted by Mithridates, but in it a garriſon was judged proper to be placed, as a bridle upon the doubtful affections of the people. Thence they proceeded againſt the Siracians, and croſſing the river Panda begirt the city of Uſpes, ſituated upon a hill and well fortified with walls and moats, only as the walls were not built with ſtone, but raiſed of rows of hurdles with earth between, they were unable to bear an aſſault; moreover, againſt them towers were raiſed high enough to overlook them, and from thence the beſieged were infeſted with flights of darts and flaming torches, and, had not night parted the combat, the city had been attempted and ſtormed within the limits of a day.

Next day the beſieged ſent deputies to ſolicit, that to the free inhabitants their lives might be ſpared, and offering, as an atonement, ten thouſand ſlaves: conditions rejected by the conquerors, ſince the maſſacring of ſuch as were ſurrendered to mercy would have been inhuman; and to ſecure ſuch an hoſt of priſoners, extremely difficult. It was therefore deemed the ſounder counſel to exerciſe the right of war, and put all promiſcuouſly to the ſword; hence to the ſoldiers, who already mounted the walls, the ſignal of ſlaughter was given. The overthrow of Uſpes, and the doom of its inhabitants, terrified their neighbours, who now believed that nothing could be ſecure or impregnable againſt the Romans, ſince arms and bulwarks, heights and faſtneſſes, deep rivers and fortified towns, were with equal bravery vanquiſhed by them. Hence Zorſines, after long deliberation, whether ſtill to adhere to the deſperate fortune of Mithridates, or conſult the ſecurity of his own paternal crown, at laſt preferred the intereſt of his ſtate, and having delivered hoſtages, came and proſtrated himſelf before the image of Claudius, to the ſignal glory of the Roman army, who had advanced, in a courſe of victory without

blood,

blood, within three days journey of the river Tanais. In their return, the ſame fortune did not attend them; for, certain veſſels, as they ſailed back, were caſt by a ſtorm upon the coaſts of the Taurians, and by theſe Barbarians ſurprized, who ſlew the leader of a cohort and moſt of the centurions.

Mithridates the while, now deſtitute of all reſource from arms, was deviſing to what quarter he ſhould have recourſe for mercy. His brother Cotys he dreaded, as one who had formerly betrayed him, and became afterwards his open enemy. Amongſt the Romans in thoſe parts there was none whoſe authority and engagements could much avail him. To Eunones therefore he determined to apply, as one who bore him no perſonal hatred, and, by virtue of his late alliance with us, a Prince of prevailing credit. Thus, in a countenance and equipage ſuitable to his preſent deſolate plight, he entered the palace, and throwing himſelf at the feet of Eunones, 'I am Mithridates, ſays he, the ſame who 'have been chaſed and perſecuted by the Romans 'for ſo many years through ſea and land; behold 'me before you, of my own choice. Uſe according to your pleaſure a deſcendant of the great 'Achæmenes; it is the only advantage of which my 'enemies have not bereaved me."

Eunones was affected with the illuſtrious quality of the man, with the ſad recollection of his fortune, and his magnanimous manner of ſupplication. He raiſed him up, and praiſing him for having thrown himſelf upon the friendſhip of the Adorſians, and choſen him as a mediator for pardon, diſpatched embaſſadors to Claudius with letters to this purpoſe. 'The alliances of the Roman Emperors with the Kings of other mighty nations, were 'firſt founded upon a ſimilitude of their fortunes; 'his own with Claudius was alſo confirmed by a 'joint victory. But, all wars were then concluded

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'ed with moſt glory, when they ended in par-
'doning the vanquiſhed. In this manner was
'Zorſines lately treated, beaten, but deprived of
'nothing. Mithridates it was true, had offended
'more grievouſly: Hence for Mithridates he nei-
'ther beſought new power or his former kingdom,
'but only an exemption from capital puniſhment,
'and from the ignominy of being led in triumph."

Claudius, though always benevolent to illuſtrious foreigners, was yet at a loſs whether it were more adviſeable to receive the captive on terms of mercy, or to have him by force of arms. For this laſt there pleaded the ſenſe of injuries, and the gratification of revenge. But againſt it was alledged, 'That the war was to be undertaken in countries
'wild and trackleſs, upon a ſea boiſterous and
'deſtitute of havens, againſt fierce and warlike
'Kings, againſt rambling and vagabond nations;
'where the ſoil was indigent and barren, where
'haſty meaſures would be dangerous, procraſti-
'nation vexatious and weariſom; ſmall would be
'the glory in victory, much infamy in a defeat.
'The Emperor ought therefore readily to embrace
'the overture, and agree to ſpare his life; he was
'indigent, and an exile, and the longer he enjoyed
'his deſolate life, ſo much the ſeverer would be
'his ſufferings." Theſe conſiderations convinced Claudius, and he writ to Eunones, 'That, in
'truth, Mithridates had merited the puniſhment
'of death, nor wanted he power to inflict it; but
'he choſe to follow the rule of our anceſtors, who,
'as they purſued obſtinate enemies with unrelenting
'rigour, treated the ſupplicant with equal bene-
'volence. As to triumphs, they were only to be
'acquired by the conqueſt of entire kingdoms and
'nations."

Mithridates was thence delivered to Junius Cilo, the Imperial Procurator in Pontus, and by him

him carried to Rome, where, in the preſence of the Emperor, he is ſaid to have ſpoke with more haughtineſs than ſuited with the abjectneſs of his fortune; for, as the ſame was reported abroad, he thus expreſſed himſelf. "I am not brought 'back to thee, Cæſar, but of my own choice have 'returned; or, if thou doſt not believe me, diſmiſs 'me, again, then try to recover me." Moreover, when he was expoſed at the Roſtrum, to the view of the people, and encompaſſed with guards, his countenance continued perfectly undaunted. To Cilo were decreed the Conſular ornaments, and to Aquila thoſe of the Prætorſhip.

During the ſame Conſuls, Agrippina, ever implacable in her hate, and enraged at Lollia, for having diſputed with her a right to the Emperor's bed, framed crimes againſt her, and ſuborned an accuſer, who charged her, 'with dealings with 'the Magicians and Chaldæans, and even conſult-'ing the Oracle of the Clarian Apollo concerning 'that match." Claudius, without hearing her in her own defence, after a long preface to the Senate, concerning the ſignal ſplendor of her birth, "that 'by her mother ſhe was niece to Lucius Voluſius, 'Cotta Meſſalinus her great uncle, herſelf formerly 'married to Memmius Regulus," (for of her marriage with Caligula he purpoſely ſaid nothing) added, 'that ſhe purſued pernicious devices againſt 'the commonwealth, and muſt be diveſted of 'the means, and opportunities of iniquity and trea-'ſon, her eſtate be confiſcated, and herſelf baniſhed 'Italy." Thus, of all her immenſe wealth, only thirty thouſand pounds were allotted her. Calpurnia too, another illuſtrious Lady, was doomed to ruin, becauſe the Prince had praiſed her beauty, though from no paſſion for her perſon, but only in occaſional diſcourſe; a conſideration, which ſo much abated the fury of Agrippina, that her puniſh-

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ment was on this ſide death. To Lollia, a Tribune was diſpatched, with orders, to compel her to die. Cadius Rufus was likewiſe condemned for extortion, at the ſuit of the Bithynians.

To the province of Narbon Gaul it was now granted, in regard of the diſtinguiſhed reverence ever by them paid to the Senate, that to Senators of that province ſhould be allowed the ſame privilege with thoſe of Sicily, of viſiting their eſtates there, without leave asked of the Prince; and the countries of Ituria and Judæa, were, upon the death of their Kings Sohemus and Agrippa, annexed to the government of Syria. The augury too of divine protection, which for five and twenty years had been diſuſed, was judged fit to be revived, and thereafter regularly obſerved; and the Emperor widened the circumference of Rome, by virtue of an ancient inſtitution, which empowered ſuch as had extended the limits of the empire, to enlarge alſo the bounds of the city; a right which yet was never aſſumed by any of the Roman captains, though they had ſubdued mighty nations, before Sylla the Dictator, and the deified Auguſtus.

What was the ambition and practice of our Kings in this matter, or from what inſtances of renown, the diverſity of tradition has rendered utterly uncertain. But I cannot think it impertinent to ſhew where the firſt foundations began, and what was the circuit fixt by Romulus. Now, from the Ox-market, where ſtill is ſeen the brazen ſtatue of a bull, becauſe by that animal the plough is drawn, a furrow was cut to deſcribe the boundaries of the town, and extended ſo as to include the great Altar of Hercules. From thence certain ſpaces were left marked at proper diſtances, with ſtones, and the line continued along the foot of Mount Palatine to the Altar of Conſus, next to the *Curiæ veteres*, thence to the ſmall Temple of the Lares, and laſtly to the great

great Roman Forum, which, as well as the Capitol, it is believed, was added to the city, not by Romulus, but by Tatius. With the increaſe of her empire the City afterwards continued to increaſe; and what were the boundaries now eſtabliſhed by Claudius, is eaſily learnt, as they are inſerted in the public records.

In the Conſulſhip of Caius Antiſtius and Marcus Suilius, the adoption of Domitius was diſpatched by the prevalent counſel of Pallas, who, as he had procured the match for Agrippina, and afterwards became engaged to her in a league of adultery, and thence wholly addicted to her intereſt, continually ſollicited Claudius, "to provide for the exigency "of the Commonwealth, and ſupport the infancy "of Britannicus with a collateral ſtay. Such had "been the policy of the deified Auguſtus, who, "though, for the ſupport of his houſe, he had grand-"children of his own, yet had diſtinguiſhed with "power the ſons of his wife. Thus too Tiberius, "notwithſtanding he had iſſue of his own, adopted "Germanicus; and thus he alſo ſhould fortify him-"ſelf with the aid of a young Prince, fit to bear "in time a part of his public cares." To theſe conſiderations Claudius yielded, and adopted Domitius for his eldeſt ſon, though only three years older than his ſon, declaring the adoption to the Senate in a ſpeech of the very ſame ſtrain with that of his freedman to him. It was noted by men of obſervation, that never was any adoption made before this into the Patrician family of the Claudii, which from Attus Clauſus their firſt anceſtor, had ever ſubſiſted upon its own ſucceſſive ſtock.

The thanks of the Senate were preſented to the Prince, but conceived in ſtrains of flattery ſtill more exquiſite towards Domitius; and a law paſſed decreeing his aſſumption into the Claudian family, and to him the name of Nero. Agrippina was alſo

dignified with the title of Auguſta. When theſe meaſures were thus accompliſhed, no mortal was found ſo void of compaſſion, as not to be affected with the ſorrowful lot of Britannicus. By little and little he was even bereft of the attendance of his ſlaves, through the hollow officiouſneſs of his ſtep-mother, who would keep him unſeaſonably in a nurſery; a treatment of great deriſion, which himſelf perceived, as he was capable of diſcerning deceit. For, he is ſaid to have wanted no quickneſs of underſtanding: whether the ſame were his real character, or whether his ſad fortune was the only ſource of his praiſe, without living to give further proof, he ſtill retained it.

Now Agrippina, that ſhe might even to diſtant nations, our allies, ſignalize her power at Rome, procured a Colony of Veterans to be ſent to the capital of the Ubians; a town in which ſhe was born, and which ſhe called by her own name. It had alſo been the lot of her grandfather Agrippa, when that people came over the Rhine, to receive them under the protection of the Romans. At that ſame time, terror filled the higher Germany, from the approach of the Cattians, exerciſing as they went rapine and depredations. Hence Lucius Pomponius, the Roman General, ordered the auxiliary Vangiones and Nemetæans, ſtrengthened with ſome wings of horſe, "to advance againſt thoſe bands "of robbers, or, if they found them ſtraggling, to "pour in upon them and beſet them by ſurprize." The vigour of the ſoldiers was anſwerable to the ſcheme of the commander; ſeparating themſelves into two bands, that which marched to the left, encloſed them juſt returned from the ſpoil, under the effects of a debauch, and ſunk in ſleep. To compleat their joy, they now releaſed from bondage ſome who had continued in it ever ſince the maſſacre of Varus and the Legions, forty years before.

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The body that turned to the right, had made a ſhorter march, and as the enemy ventured to fight, a greater ſlaughter. So that, laden with booty, and covered with glory, they returned to mount Taunus, where Pomponius waited with his Legions, prepared for battle, if the Cattians, from a paſſion for revenge, had miniſtered occaſion. But, as they dreaded being aſſaulted on every ſide, here, by the Romans, there, by the Cheruſcans, with whom they have inceſſant enmity, they diſpatched deputies and hoſtages to Rome. To Pomponius was decreed the honour of triumph, from which, however, he derives but a ſlender ſhare of his ſurviving fame, ſince to poſterity he is peculiarly known in the ſurpaſſing excellence of his Poems.

It was at this time too that Vannius, formerly created King of the Suevians by Druſus Cæſar, was driven from his kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, he lived in ſignal reputation, and in popularity with his people, but, intoxicated with long poſſeſſion of power, grew afterwards imperious; ſo that he became at once expoſed to the hate and hoſtility of his neighbours, and to a combination of his own ſubjects. It was conducted by his own ſiſter's ſons, Vangio and Sido, and by Vibillius their confederate, King of the Hermundurians. Nor would Claudius, though often entreated, engage in the quarrel of the Barbarians; he only anſwered the ſuit of Vannius, by a promiſe of a ſafe refuge, in caſe of expulſion, and writ to Publius Palpelius Hiſter, governor of Pannonia, "to cover the banks of "the Danube with the Legion, and with a body of "auxiliaries raiſed in the ſame province; in order "to ſhelter the vanquiſhed, and to awe the con-"querors; leſt, elated by ſucceſs, they might ven-"ture alſo to diſturb the quiet of the Empire." For the Ligians and other nations were daily arriving in ſwarms, allured by the fame of the wealth of that

kingdom, which for thirty years Vannius had been enriching by conſtant depredations and exactions. His own army of natives were foot, and his horſe the Jazigians of Sarmatia, a force unequal to the great hoſt of his enemies. Hence he determined to confine himſelf to his ſtrong holds, and protract the war. But the Jazigians, who could not reconcile themſelves to the reſtraints of a ſiege, roamed round the adjacent country, and being powerfully aſſailed by the Ligians and Hermundurians, brought him under a neceſſity of fighting. So that, iſſuing from his fortreſſes, to relieve them, he was overthrown in battle, but with this praiſe, notwithſtanding his defeat, that with his own hand he had bravely fought, and was honourably wounded with his face to the foe. He then fled to his fleet, which ſtaid for him in the Danube, and was ſoon followed by his adherents, who were ſettled in Pannonia, and portions of land aſſigned them. Vangio and Sido parted his kingdom between them, and towards us continued in ſignal fidelity, paſſionately beloved too by their ſubjects, while they were yet acquiring royalty, and, after it was acquired, more vehemently hated, perhaps from the fickle temper of the people, perhaps from the genius of ſervitude.

Now Publius Oſtorius, Proprætor of Britain, found great uproar and combuſtion there; for the enemy had in predatory bands broke into the territories of our allies, with the more violence, as they ſuppoſed that a new General would not, with an army which he had never proved, and in the depth of winter, dare to make head againſt them. But as he was convinced that by the firſt events of war, confidence or conſternation was raiſed in an enemy, he led forth his troops againſt them with great ſuddenneſs, put to the ſword all who reſiſted, and cloſely purſued ſuch as were broken, ſo as to prevent their rejoining. And, ſince a peace made by conſtraint,

ſtraint, and thence never ſincere, could enſure no repoſe to the General nor his troops, he determined to deprive of their arms all ſuch as he ſuſpected, and, by the means of forts, to confine them between the rivers Nen and Severn; a determination thwarted firſt by the Icenians, a powerful people, who having of their own accord become our confederates, were weakened by no invaſion nor aſſaults of war; they were now joined by the bordering nations, an army was formed, and the place of battle choſen, a place defended by a ditch, and the approach to it ſo narrow as not to be paſſable by the horſe. The Roman General, though, without the ſupport of the Legions, he only led ſome ſocial troops, yet drew up to ſtorm theſe ruſtic fortifications, and ranging his Cohorts in order, diſmounted the horſe and aſſigned them the duty of foot. Upon the ſignal given, they forced the ditch and broke the enemy, who were alſo hampered and entangled with their own encloſures. But they who, from the guilt of rebellion, were animated with deſpair, cooped in on all ſides, and no way left for eſcape, performed many and memorable feats of bravery. In this battle Marcus Oſtorius, the ſon of the General, having ſaved the life of a Roman citizen, acquired the Civic Crown.

For the reſt, the overthrow of the Icenians calmed all thoſe unſettled ſpirits, who before were wavering in their purpoſes between peace and war; and the army was led againſt the Cangians, waſted their territories, and committed general ſpoil. Nor durſt the foe encounter them openly, and were always beaten in their ſecret aſſaults. We had now approached near the ſea which waſhes the coaſt of Ireland, when commotions, begun amongſt the Brigantes, obliged the General to return thither; as he had determined to proſecute no new enterprize till his former were completed and ſecure. The Brigantes, in truth, became ſoon compoſed, by exe-

cuting a few who raiſed the revolt, and pardoning all the reſt; but, no rigour nor mercy could reclaim the Silures, who were bent upon war, and only to be reduced by the force of the Legions. To facilitate this deſign, a Colony, powerful in the number of Veterans, was conveyed to Camalodunum ſituate in the conquered lands, as a bulwark againſt the rebels, and for inuring our allies to the laws and juriſdiction of the Romans.

Thence we marched againſt the Silures, a people reſolute and fierce by nature, and moreover confiding in the aſſiſtance and valour of Caractacus, one renowned for many diſaſters, ſo that in credit he ſurpaſſed all the other Britiſh commanders. In the advantage and ſituation of the country he was more ſubtile and expert than the Romans, but weaker in men, and therefore tranſlated the ſeat of the war into the territory of the Ordovicans; and being joined by all ſuch as feared an unequal peace with the Romans, ventured to try the deciſion of the ſword. In order to it, he choſe a place againſt which it was difficult to advance, and from which it was as difficult to retreat, every way incommodious to our army, every way favourable to his own. It was upon the ridges of mountains exceeding ſteep, and, where their ſides were inclining and approachable, he reared walls of ſtone for a rampart. At the foot of the mountains flowed a river, dangerous to be forded, and a hoſt of men guarded his entrenchments.

Add to this, that the leaders of the ſeveral confederate nations, were buſy from quarter to quarter, exhorting and animating their followers, with repreſentations proper to diſſipate fear, to kindle their hopes, and to rouſe in them all the fierceſt incitements to war. Caractacus, particularly, flew through the whole army, and proclaimed, ‘ That ‘ from this day and this battle they muſt date their liberty

'liberty completely reſcued, or their ſervitude 'eternally eſtabliſhed. He called upon thoſe of 'their anceſtors who had exterminated Cæſar the 'Dictator, men by whoſe valour they yet 'lived free from tribute and Roman axes, yet pre-'ſerved free from proſtitution the perſons of their 'children and wives.' As he thus harangued, he was anſwered by the acclamations of the multitude; and every particular bound himſelf by the oath moſt ſacred to each different nation, 'Never to yield to 'arms, nor wounds, nor aught ſave death.'

This loud alacrity of theirs amazed the Roman General. Beſides, the river to be paſſed, the rampart to be forced, the declivities of the high mountains to be climbed, and all defended by hoſts of men, were terrible difficulties. But, the ſoldiers urged for the attack; All things, they cried, were conquerable by courage, and the Tribunes and other officers expreſſing the ſame ſpirit, heightened the ardour of the army. Oſtorius, therefore, having carefully ſurveyed the ſituation, where inacceſſible, and where to be paſſed, led them on thus animated; and, without much difficulty, gained the oppoſite banks. In approaching the bulwark, while the encounter was yet managed by flights of darts, there were more of our men wounded, and many began to fall; but, after they had formed themſelves into the military ſhell, demoliſhed the huge and ſhapeleſs ſtructure of ſtones, and encountered hand to hand upon ground equal to both, the Barbarians betook themſelves to the ridges of the mountains, and thither alſo mounted our ſoldiers after them, both the light and heavy armed. Here alſo was begun an unequal fight, by ours in cloſe order againſt the Britons, who only fought by diſcharges of arrows, and, as they cover themſelves with no armour, were thence ſtrait broken in their ranks; where they reſiſted

the auxiliaries, they were ſlaughtered by the ſwords and javelins of the ſoldiers of the Legions, and by the great ſabres and pikes of the auxiliaries, where they faced thoſe of the Legions. Signal was this victory; the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken priſoners, and his brothers ſurrendered to mercy.

He himſelf had recourſe to the faith and protection of Cartiſmandua, Queen of the Brigantes; but, as almoſt all things conſpire againſt the unfortunate, was by her delivered in bonds to the conquerors, now in the ninth year after the commencement of the war in Great-Britain. So long had he ſuſtained it; hence his renown had reached all the iſles, ſpread over the neighbouring provinces, and became celebrated even in Italy, where all longed to behold the man, who, for ſo many years, had defied the Roman arms. Nor, in truth, at Rome was the name of Caractacus without luſtre and applauſe; and the Emperor, by exalting his own glory upon the conqueſt, accumulated freſh glory in the conquered. For, the people were aſſembled to ſee him, as a rare and important ſpectacle; and the Prætorian bands ſtood under arms in the field before their camp. There proceeded firſt the ſervants and followers of the Britiſh King, with the military harneſs, golden chains, and the ſpoils by him taken in the wars with his neighbours; next his brothers, his wife and daughter, and laſtly himſelf expoſed to view. All but he were dejected, and deſcended through fear to ſupplications unworthy of their quality. Caractacus, without either betraying a ſupplicant look, or uttering a word that implored mercy, as ſoon as he was placed before the imperial tribunal ſpoke thus:

'If, to the height of my quality and fortune,
'I had joined an equal height of moderation in

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'my proſperity and ſucceſs, I ſhould have arrived
'in this city under another character, that of a
'friend, and not of a captive, nor would you then
'have diſdained to have received a Prince born of
'illuſtrious anceſtors, and governing ſo many na-
'tions, into terms of alliance. But, different is
'my preſent lot, which derives upon you as emi-
'nent renown, as upon me diſgrace and abaſement.
'I was lately maſter of men and arms, horſes and
'opulence. Where is the wonder if againſt my
'inclination I was bereft of them? If you Romans
'aim at extending your dominion over all man-
'kind; it does not thence follow that all men will
'embrace voluntary ſervitude from Rome. Had
'I forthwith ſubmitted to captivity, neither had
'my fall nor your glory been thus ſignal; and even
'now, if I am to ſuffer death, the fame of my ſtory
'and of your conqueſt will die with my puniſhment;
'but if you preſerve my life, I ſhall be a deathleſs
'example of your clemency.' Claudius upon this pardoned him, his wife, and his brothers. Being diſcharged of their chains, and having paid their duty and acknowledgement to the Prince, they alſo accoſted Agrippina, exalted upon another tribunal hard by, in the ſame ſtrain of gratitude and veneration: A ſight remarkably new, to our anceſtors, utterly unknown, for a woman to preſide amongſt the Roman Enſigns! ſhe, in truth, aſſumed to call herſelf a partner in the Empire which her anceſtors had acquired.

The Senate was thereafter aſſembled, where many and pompous encomiums were pronounced upon the taking of Caractacus, as an event 'no leſs
'illuſtrious than thoſe of old, when Siphax was by
'Publius Scipio, Perſes by Lucius Paulus, or any
'other conquered Kings were by any of our great
'Captains, preſented in chains to the Roman
'people.' To Oſtorius the triumphal ornaments

were decreed; and thus far his adminiſtration had been ſucceſsful, but was afterwards chequered with misfortunes. Whether it was, that, upon the captivity of Caractacus, the war was thought concluded, and thence our vigilance and diſcipline abated; or that the enemy, in compaſſion for ſo great a King, burned more vehemently for revenge. They aſſailed by ſurprize the camp-marſhal and legionary cohorts, left to rear forts amongſt the Silures, and, but for ſudden ſuccours from the circumjacent garriſons, our troops had been cut in pieces; as it was, the Marſhal himſelf and eight Centurions were there ſlain, with the moſt reſolute ſoldiers. Soon after they entirely routed our forragers, and even the troops ſent to guard them.

Oſtorius, it is true, diſpatched to their relief ſome cohorts lightly armed, who yet were not able to ſtay the flight, ſo that the Legions were drawn out to reſtore the battle, which by their ſtrength inſtantly became equal, and then favourable to us. The enemy fled, but, as night approached, with ſlight loſs. There continued thenceforward frequent encounters, many of them reſembling the parties and ſurprizes of robbers, ſometimes in the woods, ſometimes in moraſſes, conducted by chance or boldneſs, and with anſwerable ſucceſs, here at a venture, there in concert, now from reſentment, anon for booty, at times by command of their officers, and often without their knowledge. Of all others the Silures were the moſt implacable; they were incenſed by a ſaying of the Roman General current amongſt them, 'that their name muſt be 'utterly extinguiſhed, as was that of the Sugambrians, who had been partly cut off, and the 'reſt tranſplanted into Gaul.' Thus animated, they ſurprized and carried off two auxiliary cohorts, who were, without due circumſpection, plundering the country to ſatiate the avarice of their officers;

and by diſtributing the ſpoil and captives amongſt the neighbouring nations, they were drawing them alſo into the revolt, when Oſtorius, ſinking under the weight of his anxieties, expired, to the great joy of the enemy, that a captain ſo conſiderable, though he had not fallen in battle, had yet periſhed in the war.

The Emperor, apprized of the death of his Lieutenant, that the province might not be without a governor, ſubſtituted in his room Aulus Didius; but he, notwithſtanding his expeditious arrival, found not things in their entire ſtate; for, the Legion commanded by Manlius Valens, had the while been engaged, and ſuffered a defeat, a diſaſter magnified by the enemy, to terrify the new general, and even aggravated by him, thence to gain the greater glory, if he quelled the rebellion, or the juſter excuſe if it laſted. The late loſs too we ſuffered from the Silures, who were daily making large incurſions on all hands, till Didius now ſet upon them and repulſed them. Their ableſt man of war, ſince the taking of Caractacus, was Venuſius, of the city of the Jugantes, as I have above remembered, one long faithful to the Romans, and protected by their arms, during his marriage with the Queen Cartiſmandua; but being afterwards divorced from her, and thence inſtantly at war with her, he likewiſe began hoſtilities againſt us. Their arms at firſt were only employed againſt each other; but the Queen having by ſubtile ſtratagems, poſſeſſed herſelf of the brother and other kindred of Venuſius, the enemy became exaſperated, and ſcorning the infamy of falling under the dominion of a woman, aſſembled all their ableſt and moſt warlike youth, and invaded her territories; an event foreſeen by us; ſo that we had ſent ſome cohorts to her aid, and a fierce battle enſued, where the firſt onſet was doubtful, but the end ſucceſsful. With the like iſſue fought the Legion commanded

by Ceſius Naſica. For, Didius himſelf unwieldy through age, and already ſatiated with a long train of honours, thought it ſufficient to act by his Lieutenants, and only reſtrain the foe. All theſe tranſactions, though the work of ſeveral years, under two Proprætors Oſtorius and Didius, I have thus connected, leſt the detail, if interrupted, might not have been ſo eaſily recovered. I now return to the order of time.

During the fifth Conſulſhip of Claudius and that of Servius Cornelius Orfitus, to qualify Nero for entering into the adminiſtration of the State, the manly Robe was preſented him, while yet under age, and the Emperor concurred chearfully with the flattering decrees of the Senate, "that in his twen-"tieth year, he ſhould exerciſe the Conſulſhip; "that the while, as Conſul deſigned, he ſhould be "inveſted with proconſular authority out of Rome, "and be ſtiled Prince of the Roman Youth." Claudius moreover, in Nero's name, beſtowed a largeſs upon the ſoldiers, and another upon the people: and, at the Circenſian games, which were then ſolemnized, to draw upon him the eyes and affections of the populace, whilſt Britannicus was carried along in the Prætexta (the uſual habit of boys) Nero appeared in the triumphal robe, the mark and ornament of imperial ſtate. So that the people, beholding them thus differently attired, could thence conclude the difference of their future fortunes. At the ſame time, ſuch of the Centurions and Tribunes as manifeſted any compaſſion for the partial lot of Britannicus, were, ſome under colour of more honourable functions, all upon framed pretences, removed from the palace; even amongſt the freedmen, thoſe whoſe faith and conſtancy were found incorruptible, were diſcarded upon the following occaſion. The two young Princes happening to meet, Nero ſaluted Britannicus by that name, and Britan-

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nicus him by his old name of Domitius. This was by Agrippina repreſented to Claudius with grievous expoſtulations, as the firſt ſtep to diſſention, ſince by it 'the adoption of Nero was ſet at nought and 'condemned, the ſanctions of the Senate, with the 'authority of the people, were aboliſhed within the 'walls of his own palace; and if the pravity of thoſe 'who inſpired into Britannicus ſuch pernicious ſen-'timents, were not repreſſed, it would break out 'into war and public ruin.' Claudius, alarmed and exaſperated by theſe ſuggeſtions of his wife, as if the ſame had been crimes really committed by the tutors of his ſon, puniſhed all the beſt of them with exile or death, and entruſted him to the government of others, choſen by his ſtep-mother.

Agrippina however durſt not yet proceed to the accompliſhment of her great deſign, till from the command of the Prætorian cohorts were removed Luſius Geta and Rufius Criſpinus, as men whom ſhe believed grateful to the memory of Meſſalina, and zealouſly devoted to her children. When ſhe had therefore alledged to the Emperor, "that by the 'competition and cabals of two commanders, the 'guards were rent into factions, whereas, were 'they under the authority of one, they would be 'more eaſily ſubjected to the laws of diſcipline and 'obedience;' Claudius ſubmitted to the reaſoning of his wife, and the charge of theſe bands was tranſferred to Burrhus Afranius, an officer, in truth, of ſignal renown, but one however well apprized to whoſe credit he owed his advancement. Agrippina likewiſe began to ſignalize her grandeur ſtill more, and even to enter the Capitol in a chariot, a diſtinction which of old was allowed to none but the prieſts and things ſacred, and, being now aſſumed by her, heightened the reverence of the people towards a Lady who was the daughter of a Cæſar, and the mother of one, ſiſter to the laſt Emperor, and

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wife of the preſent; an inſtance of imperial fortune and nobility till then unparalleled. But in the mean time her chief champion Vitellius, in the height of favour, and extremity of age (upon ſuch treacherous foundations great men ſtand!) was involved in an accuſation, and, by Junius Lupus the Senator, charged with treaſon, and even with aſpiring to the Empire. Claudius too would have liſtened to the charge, had not Agrippina prevailed by menaces rather than prayers, and turned his reſentment upon the accuſer, who was thence interdicted from fire and water. Further puniſhment than this Vitellius deſired not.

Many were the prodigies that happened this year: upon the Capitol were ſeen birds of evil omen, frequent concuſſions of the earth were felt, and by them many houſes overthrown. But, as the dread was ſtill more extenſive than the calamity, in the throng of the flying multitude, all the weak and decrepit were trodden to death. For a prodigy alſo was reckoned the barrenneſs of the ſeaſon, and the effect of it, famine. Nor were the complaints of the populace confined to houſes and corners; they even gathered in tumultuous crowds round the Prince, then engaged in the public adminiſtration of juſtice, and with turbulent clamours drove him to the extremity of the Forum; ſo that, to eſcape their violence, he was forced with his guards to break through the incenſed multitude. It is certain, there was then in Rome but juſt proviſion for fifteen days, and by the ſignal bounty of the Gods and the mildneſs of the winter, it was that the public was relieved in that its urgent diſtreſs. It was, in truth, otherwiſe with Italy in former days, when from her fruitful fields foreign provinces too were furniſhed with ſupplies; nor, at this time, is the ſterility of ſoil any part of our misfortune; but we now rather chuſe to cultivate Africa and Egypt, and

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the lives of the Roman people are entruſted to ſhips and the caſualties of the deep.

The ſame year, the war which aroſe between the Armenians and Hiberians, begot alſo mighty broils between the Parthians and Romans. Over the Parthians reigned Vologeſes, who, though the ſon of a Greek concubine, had, by the conceſſion of his brothers, obtained the diadem. The Kingdom of Hiberia had been long held by Pharaſmanes, and his brother Mithridates was, by our aid and procurement, poſſeſſed of Armenia. Pharaſmanes had a ſon graceful and tall, of ſignal ſtrength of body, trained up in all the politics of his father, and in high renown with the bordering nations. His name was Rhadamiſtus, a young Prince who, impatient that the ſmall kingdom of Hiberia ſhould be ſo long detained from him by the great age of his father, declared this his diſcontent with ſo much frequency and paſſion, that his ambition could not be concealed. Pharaſmanes therefore, in regard of his own declining age, and fearing the ſpirit of his ſon, eager of himſelf to reign, and ſupported beſides with the affections of his ſubjects, choſe to divert his thoughts upon another purſuit, and tempted him with the proſpect of Armenia; 'a kingdom which, 'having expulſed the Parthians, he ſaid, he had 'given to Mithridates; but, in gaining it now, all 'methods of violence were to be poſtponed; and 'thoſe of guile firſt to be tried, in order to oppreſs 'him unawares.' Thus Rhadamiſtus, feigning to quarrel with his father, and to fly the perſecutions of his ſtep-mother, withdrew to his uncle, and, while he was by him cheriſhed like a child, with tranſcendent complacency, drew the nobility of Armenia into the conſpiracy; Mithridates being ſo ignorant of his conduct, that upon him he was ſtill multiplying honours.

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Then, under ſhew of being reconciled to his father, he returned, and informed him, 'that what 'fraud could effect, was accompliſhed, the reſt arms 'muſt execute.' Hence Pharaſmanes ſet himſelf to deviſe colours for the war, and declared, 'that 'whilſt he was at war with the King of the Albani- 'ans, he had applied to the Romans for aid, but his 'brother oppoſed its coming; and this injury, he 'was now about to revenge with his utter deſtruc- 'tion.' At the ſame time, he committed a numerous army to the conduct of his ſon, who, by a ſudden invaſion, utterly diſmayed Mithridates, and forced him out of the field into the fortreſs of Gorneas, a place ſtrong in the ſituation, and defended by a garriſon of our ſoldiers, under the command of Cælius Pollio Governor, and Caſperius a Centurion. The Barbarians are ſtrangers to nothing more than the uſe of machines, and the dexterity of aſſaulting places, a part of military ſkill which to us is throughly familiar. Rhadamiſtus therefore, having without effect, or with loſs to himſelf, attempted the fortifications, changed his efforts into a ſiege, and when all his attacks were deſpiſed, purchaſed with a price the avaritious Governor, notwithſtanding the adjurations of Caſperius, 'that he would not ſell a 'confederate King, not ſell Armenia, the gift of 'the Roman people, and convert his own truſt 'into perfidiouſneſs and money." But at laſt, ſince Pollio perſiſted to plead the multitude of the enemy, and Rhadamiſtus the orders of his father; the Centurion procuring a truce, departed, in order either to deter Pharaſmanes from purſuing the war, or otherwiſe to proceed to Numidius Quadratus Governor of Syria, and lay before him the condition of Armenia.

By the departure of the Centurion, Pollio being, as it were, diſcharged from the reſtraint of a keeper,

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exhorted Mithridates to an accommodation. He alledged ‘ the natural ties between brothers, the ‘ ſeniority of Pharaſmanes, and their other mutual ‘ bonds of affinity; that he was himſelf eſpouſed to ‘ his brother's daughter, and to Rhadamiſtus had ‘ eſpouſed his own; that the Hiberians, however ‘ then ſuperior in forces, refuſed not peace; and ‘ the perfidiouſneſs of the Armenians was ſufficiently ‘ known; neither had he any other ſanctuary but ‘ that caſtle, deſtitute of ſtores. He therefore ‘ ought not to ſcruple to prefer terms gained with- ‘ out blood, to the caſualties and violence of war.” But, as Mithridates ſtill procraſtinated, ſuſpecting the counſels of the Governor, as one who had debauched a concubine of his, and was reckoned of a vile ſpirit, purchaſeable by money into every baſe- neſs, Caſperius the while reached Pharaſmanes, and urged him ‘ to recall his Hiberians from the ſiege.’ That Prince returned him openly equivocal anſwers, ſometimes ſuch as were more gentle and plauſible, and, during theſe amuſements, warned Rhadamiſtus by ſecret meſſengers, ‘ to diſpatch by ‘ whatever means the taking of the place.’ Hence the price of the treaſon was augmented to Pollio, who alſo privately corrupted the ſoldiers, and prompted them to demand peace, or otherwiſe to threaten that they would relinquiſh the garriſon. Mithridates, preſſed by this extremity, agreed to the time and place of capitulation, and went forth from the caſtle to meet Rhadamiſtus, who inſtantly flew to embrace him, feigned all the marks of duty and obedience, and called him his father: he even ſwore that he intended him no violence either by poiſon or the ſword, and drew him at the ſame time into a neighbouring grove, where a ſacrifice, he ſaid, was by his orders prepared, that by the ſolemn preſence of the Gods their league of peace might be confirmed.

It is a cuſtom amongſt the Kings of theſe countries, whenever they ſtrike alliances, to tie together with a hard bandage the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood, ſtarting to the extremities, is by a ſlight cut diſcharged. This they mutually ſuck, and a league thus executed is eſteemed moſt awful, as myſteriouſly ſolemnized with the blood of the parties. But upon this occaſion, he who was applying the bandage pretending to fall, ſeized Mithridates by the legs, and overthrew him, and inſtantly he was oppreſſed by many, then bound, and haled away, dragging his chain, a circumſtance of conſummate contumely amongſt the Barbarians! The people too, over whom he had exerciſed rigorous tyranny, aſſaulted him with bitter reproaches, and even threatened him with blows. Yet there were ſome of a different temper, who uttered their commiſeration for ſuch a mighty change of his fortune; beſides, his wife following him with her little infants, was by her doleful lamentations every where heard. They were thruſt apart into covered carriages, till the commands of Pharaſmanes were known. With him the paſſion for a kingdom was more prevalent then his regard for a brother or daughter, and he poſſeſſed naturally a ſpirit prone to every cruelty. He however conſidered the indecency of the ſpectacle, and ordered them to be put to death, but not in his ſight. Rhadamiſtus too, as if from an exact obſervance of his oath, employed neither ſword nor poiſon againſt his ſiſter and uncle, but cauſed them to be thrown upon the ground, and ſtifled with a vaſt weight of coverings. The children alſo of Mithridates, for bewailing the murder of their parents, were butchered themſelves.

Quadratus, as ſoon as he knew the treaſon, with the doom ſuffered by Mithridates, and that they who took his life held his kingdom, aſſembled his council, and repreſenting theſe events, ſought their

advice

advice whether vengeance ought to be purſued. Few had at heart the public honour, and moſt of them reaſoned from conſiderations of ſecurity; 'that all 'the injuries and cruelties committed by foreign na- 'tions upon each other, ought to the Romans to be 'matter of joy; nay, the ſeeds of diſſention were 'induſtriouſly to be ſown amongſt them; a policy 'frequently practiſed by the Roman Emperors, who 'under colour of beſtowing from time to time that 'ſame kingdom of Armenia upon Princes Barba- 'rians, deſigned thence to furniſh them with matter 'of reciprocal feuds, and hoſtilities. Rhadamiſtus 'might therefore enjoy a crown wickedly acquired, 'ſince with it he enjoyed publick deteſtation and 'infamy, circumſtances which better ſerved the 'purpoſes of Rome, than if by methods of glory 'he had obtained it.' With this advice they all concurred; but that they might not ſeem to have aſſented to a wickedneſs ſo flagrant, and leſt contrary orders ſhould arrive from the Emperor, they diſ- patched a meſſage to Pharaſmanes, 'to retire from 'the frontiers of Armenia, and recall his ſon.'

Over Cappadocia then ruled Julius Pelignus, with the title of Procurator, one equally deſpicable for his daſtardly ſpirit and the deformity of his perſon, but in great intimacy with Claudius, who, while yet a private man, was wont to ſpend his idle life in liſtening to the drollery of ſuch buffoons. This Pelignus drew together a body of auxiliary forces from the adjacent provinces, and declared he would reconquer Armenia; but, as he committed greater ſpoil upon our allies than upon the enemy, he was by his own men abandoned, har- raſſed by the inceſſant incurſions of the Barba- rians, and, thus bereft of all defence, betook him- ſelf to Rhadamiſtus, by whoſe liberalities he was ſo intirely ſubdued, that of his own accord he exhorted him to aſſume the royal diadem, and even aſſiſted in perſon that ſolemnity, as the author of the advice,

and

and his vaſſal at arms. When this vile tranſaction came to be divulged, that the character of the other Roman Commanders might not be judged by that of Pelignus, Helvidius Priſcus was diſpatched at the head of a Legion, with general orders to apply ſuch remedies to the preſent combuſtions, as their circumſtances would bear. He therefore, having with much celerity croſſed mount Taurus, had already made many pacifications, rather by mildneſs than force, when an order overtook him, 'for 'his return into Syria, by it to avoid miniſtering 'to the Parthians any ground of war.'

For, Vologeſes believing that an occaſion now offered for invading Armenia, a Kingdom inherited by his anceſtors, but now treaſonably occupied by a foreign uſurper, drew together an army, and prepared to inſtate his brother Tiridates in the throne; that none of his houſe might be deſtitute of dominion. The march of the Parthians terrified the Hiberians; they were expelled without fighting a battle, and the Armenian cities of Artaxata, and Tigranocerta, without a ſtruggle received the invaders. But, a tempeſtuous winter or want of proviſions, and the peſtilence ariſing from both, conſtrained Vologeſes to relinquiſh his conqueſts. So that the throne of Armenia being once more vacant, was again invaded by Rhadamiſtus, now more outragious and bloody than ever, as incenſed againſt a people that had already abandoned him, and were ſtill ready, on the firſt occaſion, to revolt. They too, though inured to ſervitude, loſt all patience, betook themſelves to arms, and begirt the palace; nor had Rhadamiſtus any reſource ſave in the fleetneſs of his horſes, and by them he eſcaped with his wife.

She was great with child, yet, from dread of the foe, and tenderneſs to her husband, bore at firſt, as well as ſhe could, the fatigue of the flight; but when, by continued hurrying, her heavy womb was

ſorely

ſorely agitated, and all her bowels bruiſed, ſhe beſought him, 'to ſave her by an honeſt death from the reproach and miſery of captivity.' At firſt, he embraced her, comforted and encouraged her, now admiring her heroic ſpirit, then ſtruck with fear, leſt, if he left her, ſome other might poſſeſs her; at laſt, in the rage of love, and well trained in acts of blood, he drew his ſcymitar, and wounding her deeply, haled her to the banks of the Araxes, committing her body to the flood, that even of her corps none might ever be maſter. He himſelf purſued his flight full ſpeed, till he reached Hiberia the kingdom of his father. Zenobia the while (for that was her name) was deſcried by the ſhepherds, floating gently on the ſurface with manifeſt appearances of life; and, as they gathered from the beautiful dignity of her aſpect that ſhe was of no mean rank, they bound up her wound, and to it adminiſtered their ruſtic medicines. Having then learnt her name and diſaſter, they carried her to Artaxata, from whence, at the charge and care of the city, ſhe was conducted to Tiridates, by him courteouſly received, and entertained with all the marks of Royalty.

In the Conſulſhip of Fauſtus Sylla and Salvius Otho, Furius Scribonianus ſuffered exile, upon a charge of having 'conſulted the Chaldæans about 'the term of the Prince's life.' In his crime was involved his mother Junia, 'as having borne with 'impatience her own lot;' for ſhe too had been baniſhed. Camillus the father of Scribonianus, had levied war in Dalmatia; hence Claudius vaunted his own clemency, that to a hoſtile race he perſiſted to grant their lives. That, however, of the preſent exile, remained not long; whether he died naturally or by poiſon, was differently reported as each differently believed. For expelling the Aſtrologers from Italy, a decree of Senate was made full of rigour, but never executed. The Emperor thereafter

after uttered a diſcourſe in praiſe of thoſe Senators, who, from the narrowneſs of their fortunes, of their own accord renounced their dignity; and ſuch as by adhering to their order, added confidence to their poverty, were degraded.

During theſe tranſactions, in the Senate was propoſed a penalty to be inflicted upon Ladies who married ſlaves, and ordained, 'That ſhe who thus 'debaſed herſelf, unknown to the maſter of the ſlave, 'ſhould be adjudged herſelf in a ſtate of ſlavery; 'but, where he conſented, ſhe ſhould be held for 'a ſlave manumitted.' To Pallas who was by Claudius declared to be the deviſer of this ſcheme, the ornaments of the Prætorſhip, and three hundred ſeventy-five thouſand crowns, were adjudged by Bareas Soranus, Conſul deſigned. Cornelius Scipio added, 'that the public thanks ought likewiſe to be paid him; for that, being deſcended 'from the old Kings of Arcadia, he poſtponed the 'regard of his moſt ancient nobility to the ſervice 'of the ſtate, and deigned to be numbered amongſt 'the miniſters of the Prince.' Claudius avowed, 'that Pallas was content with the honour only, and 'reſolved to live ſtill in his former poverty.' Thus a decree of Senate was publiſhed engraven in braſs, in which a franchized ſlave poſſeſſing an eſtate of more than ſeven millions, was extolled for obſerving the parcimony of the ancients.

His brother ſirnamed Felix, he who for ſome time had governed Judæa, acted not with the ſame reſtraint, but as one who, relying upon ſuch potent protection, ſuppoſed he might perpetrate with impunity every kind of villainy. The Jews, in truth, by their ſedition, in the time of Caligula, had miniſtered ſome appearances of an inſurrection; and, after they were apprized of his aſſaſſination, ſcarce returned to obedience. Their dread remained, leſt ſome of the ſucceeding Emperors might ſubject them

them to the like odious injunctions. Felix too, the while, by applying unſeaſonable remedies, inflamed their offence and diſaffection; a conduct imitated by Ventidius Cumanus, who held under his juriſdiction part of the Province, and emulated Felix in all his worſt courſes; for ſuch was the diviſion, that Galilæa was ſubject to Cumanus, and Samaria to Felix, two nations long at variance, and now, from contempt of their rulers, leſs than ever reſtraining their mutual hate. Hence depredations on both ſides were committed, bands of robbers employed, ambuſhes formed, and ſometimes battles fought, and all the ſpoil and booty preſented to theſe their Governors, who, at firſt, rejoyced over it; but when, after the miſchief grew outrageous, they interpoſed their armed troops, their men were ſlain, and, but for the aid of Quadratus ruler of Syria, the whole Province had been in a blaze of war. Nor, as to the Jews, who had carried their violence ſo far as to kill our ſoldiers, did any obſtacle ariſe againſt puniſhing them with death. The affair of Cumanus and Felix created ſome delay; for Claudius, upon a hearing of the cauſes of the revolt, had alſo granted a power to try and ſentence the Governors; but Quadratus, taking Felix up to the Tribunal, and ſhewing him amongſt the Judges, awed the accuſers, and ſtopped one part of the proſecution: So that, for the guilt and evil-doings common to both, Cumanus alone was doomed to puniſhment. Thus the repoſe of the Province was reſtored.

Shortly after this, the boors of Cilicia, they who are ſirnamed Clitæans, and had before raiſed many inſurrections, betook themſelves now, under the leading of Throſobor, to their ſteep and inacceſſible mountains, and there encamped. From thence in prædatory bands they made excurſions as far as the ſhore, and round the adjoining cities, boldly committing ravages upon the villagers and huſbandmen,

men, and daily ſpoiling the merchants and ſeamen. They even beſieged the city of Anemurium, and repulſed a body of horſe ſent from Syria to its relief, under the command of Curtius Severus; for, the rocky ſituation of the place proved a defence to an army of foot, and ſcarcely admitted the attacks of the horſe. But afterwards, Antiochus King of that territory, having by many courteſies gained the multitude, and by ſtratagem ſecured their leader, effectually disjoined the forces of the Barbarians; and putting to death Throſobor and a few more of the chiefs, pacified the reſt by methods of clemency.

About the ſame time, a naval fight was prepared upon the lake Fucinus, and, to accommodate the greater numbers with the advantage of beholding the mighty magnificence of the work, a mountain between the lake and the river Liris was levelled; in imitation of Auguſtus, who once exhibited the like ſpectacle upon an artificial pool on this ſide the Tiber, but with light ſhips, and fewer men. Claudius armed large gallies, ſome of three, ſome of four banks of oars, and manned them with nineteen hundred combatants. The circle aſſigned for the combat was ſurrounded with an encloſure of great rafts of wood, to obſtruct all means of flight or eſcape: ſpace ſufficient was however allowed for the velocity of rowing, for the ſtratagems of the pilots, the mutual encounters of the ſhips, and for all the uſual feats in naval battles. Upon the rafts ſtood the Emperors guards, foot and horſe, with platforms before them, for weilding and diſcharging the engines of battery: all the reſt of the lake was poſſeſſed by the combatants upon covered veſſels. The ſhore, the adjacent hills, and the tops of the mountains, were crowded with a mighty multitude, many from the neighbouring towns, others from Rome itſelf; ſome from a paſſion to behold the ſpec-

tacle, ſome in compliment to the Prince ; and the whole repreſented a vaſt theatre. The Emperor preſided in a ſplendid coat of mail, and with him Agrippina in a mantle woven of pure gold. The battle, though between malefactors, was fought with a ſpirit becoming brave ſoldiers ; ſo that, after many wounds and much blood, they were redeemed from utter ſlaughter.

When the ſpectacle was concluded, and the water diſcharged, the negligence of the workmen became manifeſt, and the inſufficiency of the work, which was not ſunk ſufficiently low about the center of the lake. Its bed therefore ſome time after was hollowed deeper ; and, to draw the multitude once more together, a ſhew of Gladiators was exhibited upon bridges laid over it, in order to diſplay a foot fight. But, as a banquet was prepared juſt at the fall from the lake, the ſame proved the occaſion of great affright ; for, the weight of the water breaking out with violence, bore down with it whatever was near it, ſhook what was more diſtant, and by its impetuoſity and roaring diſmayed all that were preſent. Agrippina laying inſtant hold of the Emperor's fright, charged Narciſſus, the director of the work, with avarice and rapaciouſneſs : nor did Narciſſus ſpare Agrippina, but attacked and upbraided, " the domineering ſpirit of the woman, with her " aſpiring and boundleſs views."

During the Conſulſhip of Decimus Junius and Quintus Haterius, Nero, now in the ſixteenth year of his age, eſpouſed Octavia the daughter of Claudius, and, to ſignalize his accompliſhments in polite learning, and acquire the glory of eloquence, undertook the cauſe of the Ilians, and having floridly repreſented the Romans as deſcendents from Troy, and Æneas as the founder of the Julian race, with other old traditions little remote from fables, he obtained for the Ilians entire immunity from all public charges. By the rhetoric of the ſame advocate,

the Colony of Boulogne, which had been utterly conſumed by fire, were relieved by a bounty of two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns. To the Rhodians too their liberty was reſtored, which had been often withdrawn, and often re-eſtabliſhed, as a puniſhment or reward for their different behaviour, when they obliged us by their aſſiſtance in our foreign wars, or provoked us by their ſeditions at home. And, to the city of Apamea, overturned by an earthquake, a remiſſion of tribute was granted for five years.

The policy all this of Agrippina, who puſhed Claudius on the contrary upon all the moſt deteſted meaſures of cruelty. As ſhe panted inordinately after the gardens of Statilius Taurus, a nobleman of illuſtrious fortune, who had been Proconſul of Africa, ſhe procured his bane by the miniſtry of Tarquitius Priſcus, who was his Lieutenant there. After their return, he charged him with ſome few crimes of extortion, but the ſum of the accuſation, were the practices of Magic. Neither did Taurus deign longer to bear the unworthy lot of proſecution from that traiterous accuſer, but, without waiting for the deciſion of the Senate, laid violent hands upon himſelf. Tarquitius was, however, expelled the Senate: ſuch was the deteſtation of the fathers towards the accuſer, that they carried his condemnation againſt the intrigues of Agrippina.

This year, what the Prince had frequently declared, "That to the deciſions of his Imperial Pro-
"curators, the ſame force ſhould be allowed as to
"his own," was moreover confirmed and eſtabliſhed by a decree of Senate, (as a proof that the ſame was no declaration at random) nay, with more fulneſs than heretofore and greater enlargements. For, the deified Auguſtus had ordained too, that the Knights who ruled Ægypt, ſhould act judicially, and that the ſentences by them pronounced ſhould be

be equally valid with thoſe of the Roman Magiſtrates. Soon after, this juriſdiction of the Knights was extended to other Provinces, and, even in Rome itſelf, to their Tribunal were referred many things formerly determined by the Prætors. Claudius now conferred upon them univerſal juriſdiction, that juriſdiction for which ſo many ſeditions had been raiſed and ſo much blood ſhed, when, by the popular ordinances of the Tribune Sempronius, the Equeſtrian Order was inveſted with the power of judicature, and when Servilius the Conſul, by a contrary eſtabliſhment, reſtored to the Senate the judicial authority. This too chiefly was the end and incitement of the bloody wars between Marius and Sylla. But, in thoſe days, the ſeveral Orders of the State were engaged in different and interfering purſuits, and the party that prevailed made public regulations at their pleaſure. Caius Oppius and Cornelius Balbus were the firſt particulars, who (enabled by the power of Cæſar the Dictator) arbitrated matters of peace and war. It would little avail to recount after this, the names of Matius and Vedius, and other Roman Knights, who once bore ſway; when to his franchized ſlaves, ſuch as were entruſted with his domeſtic concerns, Claudius thus aſſerted a power equal to his own and to that of the laws.

Thereafter, he propoſed for the inhabitants of Coos, a general immunity from impoſitions, and recounted their antiquity in a long detail; "how "the Argives, or at leaſt Ceus the father of La-"tona, firſt cultivated that iſland; and thither ſoon "after arrived Æſculapius, and with him the art "of medicine and healing, an art, which had great "applauſe amongſt his deſcendents," whoſe names he rehearſed, and marked the ſeveral ages in which they flouriſhed. He even ſaid, that "Xenophon "his own phyſician, was a branch of the ſame

" family, and to his ſupplications it ought to be " granted, that his countrymen the people of Coos " ſhould be for ever diſcharged from all tribute, " and only attend the cultivation of an Iſland ſolely " devoted to the miniſtry of that Deity." It is, without queſtion, that many good offices of theirs towards the Roman people, might have been alledged, and even victories gained by their aid; but Claudius, led by his wonted weakneſs, coloured under no public conſiderations what he had thus perſonally granted to his phyſician.

The deputies from Byzantium being heard, beſought of the Senate to be eaſed of their heavy impoſitions; and recapitulating things from the firſt, began with the confederacy which they had ſtruck with us ſo long ago as the war which we maintained againſt that King of Macedon, who from the degeneracy of his ſpirit was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Pſeudophilippus. Next they recounted the forces by them ſent againſt King Antiochus, Perſes, and Ariſtonicus; as alſo how they had ſupported Antonius in the war to ſuppreſs the Pyrates, with the ſeveral aids which they had beſtowed upon Sylla, Lucullus and Pompey. They added the ſervices which more lately they had rendered to the Cæſars, during their encampments and abode in theſe their territories, where our armies and their leaders, in all their progreſſes by land and water, were well accommodated, and all their ſtores carried after them.

For, Byzantium was founded by the Greeks, in the extremity of Europe, upon a ſtreight which disjoins Europe from Aſia. Thither the founders were directed by an Oracle of the Pythian Apollo, who, when conſulted by them, where to build a city, replied, " That they ſhould ſeek a ſituation oppo- " ſite to the habitations of the blind-men." By this riddle the Chalcedonians were repreſented; for they,

who

who were the firſt comers into thoſe parts, and had viewed the advantages of this ſhore, had yet choſen the oppoſite and the worſt. Byzantium, in truth, ſtands upon a fertile ſoil and a plentiful ſea; ſince, into her port are borne all thoſe infinite ſhoals of fiſh, which breaking out of the Euxine, ſhun the other coaſt, as they are ſcared by the rocks which, under the waters, ſhoot from it. Hence, at firſt the gain and wealth of the Byzantines, but, afterwards preſſed by the exceſs of their impoſitions, they now beſought that the ſame might be aboliſhed or abated. The Emperor too was their advocate, who repreſented them as late ſufferers in the war of Thrace, and in that of Boſphorus, and worthy to be relieved. They were therefore acquitted from tribute for five years.

In the Conſulſhip of Marcus Aſinius and Marcus Acilius, a change of affairs for the worſe was portended, as was gathered from the frequency of Prodigies. The Enſigns of the ſoldiers and their tents were ſcorched with fire from heaven; a ſwarm of Bees pitched upon the ſummit of the Capitol; children were born of compounded forms, and a Pig was farrowed with the talons of a hawk. Amongſt the prodigies it alſo was reckoned, that the number of every order of Magiſtrates was then curtailed, one of the Quæſtors, one of the Ædiles, a Tribune, a Prætor, and a Conſul, being all deceaſed, within a few months. But, more particular was the fear of Agrippina. She was alarmed by a ſaying of Claudius, uttered heedleſly in his wine, "That it was a fate upon him, to bear the iniqui-"ties of his wives, but at laſt to puniſh them." Hence ſhe determined to be quick and prevent him, but firſt to deſtroy Domitia Lepida, upon motives derived from the pride and reſentments of women. For Lepida, who was the daughter of the younger Antonia, the great niece of Auguſtus, couſin ger-

man to Agrippina the elder, and ſiſter to Cnæius Domitius (once husband to the preſent Agrippina) accounted herſelf of equal nobility with the other. Neither were they much differing in beauty, age or wealth, both proſtitutes in their perſons, infamous in their manners, and violent in their tempers, nor leſs rivals in vices than in the luſtre and advantages of their fortune. Hence, however, aroſe the moſt vehement ſtruggle, whether the aunt or mother ſhould acquire the aſcendent over the ſpirit of Nero. Lepida laboured to engage and govern his youthful mind, by careſſes and liberalities; Agrippina, on the contrary, treated him with ſternneſs and threats, like one who would, in truth, confer the ſovereignty upon her ſon, but not bear him for her ſovereign.

The crimes therefore charged upon Lepida, were, "That, by charms and imprecations, ſhe had ſought "to deſtroy the Emperor's Conſort, and that by "neglecting to reſtrain the tumultuous behaviour "of her numerous ſlaves in Calabria, ſhe diſturb-"ed the public peace of Italy." For theſe imputations ſhe was doomed to die, notwithſtanding the laboured oppoſition of Narciſſus, who was now become more and more diſtruſtful of Agrippina, inſomuch that he is ſaid to have lamented amongſt his intimates, "That to himſelf nothing but cer-"tain deſtruction remained, whether Britannicus "or Nero ſucceeded to the Empire; but ſuch to-"wards him had been the favour of the Emperor, "that for the ſervice of his maſter he would lay down "his life. Under Claudius he had procured the con-"viction and doom of Meſſalina and of Silius; and "under Nero (if Nero came to reign) there would "be the like cauſes for the like accuſation. If Bri-"tannicus was to ſucceed, neither from that Prince "had he any claim to favour, ſince he had, by "the death of his mother, made room for a ſtep-

mother,

" mother, who by inſidious plots was ruining all " his houſe with ſuch notable wickedneſs, that bet- " ter it were he had never divulged to the Empe- " ror the proſtitutions of his former wife, though " neither, in truth, was the preſent free from proſ- " titution, as Pallas was notoriouſly her adulterer; " inſomuch that with no mortal could any doubt " remain, but to the luſt of rule ſhe poſtponed her " fame, her modeſty, her perſon, and all things." Repeating theſe and the like ſpeeches, he tenderly embraced Britannicus, and ſupplicated for him full and ſudden ripeneſs of age; now to the Gods, then to the young Prince, he lifted up his hands and poured out prayers, " That he might attain " vigour of years; that he might exterminate the " enemies of his father, and even be revenged on " thoſe who ſlew his mother."

Amidſt all theſe mighty agitations and anxieties, Claudius was taken ill, and for the recovery of his health had recourſe to the ſoft air, and ſalubrious waters of Sinueſſa. It was then that Agrippina, long ſince bent upon the parricide, greedy of the preſent occaſion, and well furniſhed with wicked agents, conſulted concerning the quality of the poi- ſon: " if it were ſudden and rapid in its operation, " the dark deed might thence be betrayed; if one " ſlow and conſuming were adminiſtered, there " was danger that Claudius, when his end approach- " ed, and perhaps having the while diſcovered " the deadly fraud, would recall the tenderneſs and " partiality of a father for his ſon." A ſubtle poi- ſon was therefore judged beſt, " ſuch as would " diſorder his brain, and not preſently kill." An experienced artiſt in ſuch preparations was choſen, her name Locuſta; lately condemned for poiſoning, and one long entertained amongſt the other ma- chines of the Monarchy. By this woman's ſkill the poiſon was prepared; to adminiſter the ſame

was the part of Halotus, one of the Eunuchs, ſteward of the Emperor's table and his taſter. Indeed, all the particulars of this deed were ſoon afterwards ſo thoroughly known, that the writers of thoſe times are able to recount, "how the poiſon was "ſeethed in a delicious meſs of muſhrooms, but, "whether from the natural ſtupidity of Claudius, "or that he was drunk, he felt not inſtantly the "virulence of the doſe." A looſeneſs too at the ſame time ſeemed to relieve him, and to defeat the operation. Agrippina became terribly diſmayed; but, as her own life lay at ſtake, ſhe deſpiſed the ſtain and odium which muſt accompany her preſent proceedings, and called in the aid of Xenophon the phyſician, whom ſhe had already engaged in her guilty purpoſes. It is thought that he, as if he had meant to aſſiſt Claudius in his efforts to vomit, thruſt down his throat a feather dipt in outrageous poiſon, as one who well knew, that the moſt daring iniquities are attempted with hazard, but accompliſhed with rewards.

The Senate was in the mean time aſſembled, and the Conſuls and Pontiffs were offering vows for the recovery of the Emperor, when he was already dead; though coverings and reſtoratives were ſtill applied, till matters were diſpoſed for ſecuring the Empire to Nero. And firſt, Agrippina, perſonating unconquerable ſorrow, and one who ſought on all hands for conſolation, claſped Britannicus in her arms, ſtiled him "the genuine image of his father," and, by various and feigned devices, withheld him from leaving the chamber. There ſhe likewiſe detained Antonia and Octavia, his ſiſters, and, by poſting guards, ſhut up all the paſſages. From time to time too ſhe declared, that the Prince was upon recovery, thence to encourage the hopes of the ſoldiery, till the fortunate moment, according to the calculations of the Aſtrologers, were at hand.

At

At laſt, on the thirteenth of October, at noon, the gates of the palace were ſuddenly thrown open, and Nero, accompanied by Burrhus, walked forth to the cohort, which, according to the cuſtom of the army, was then upon guard. There, upon ſignification made by the Præfect, he was received with ſhouts of joy, and inſtantly put into a litter. It is reported, that there were ſome who heſitated, diligently looking and frequently aſking, where was Britannicus? but that, as no one appeared to propoſe him, they preſently embraced the choice which was offered them. Thus Nero was borne to the camp, where, after a ſpeech ſuitable to the exigency, and the promiſe of a largeſs equal to that of the late Emperor his father, he was ſaluted Emperor. The declaration of the ſoldiers was followed and confirmed by the decrees of the Senate; nor was there any reluctancy in the ſeveral provinces. To Claudius were decreed cœleſtial honours, and the ſolemnity of his funeral the ſame as that of the deified Auguſtus, ſince in it Agrippina would needs emulate the magnificence of her great grand-mother Livia. His teſtament, however, was not rehearſed in public, leſt the preference there given from his own ſon to the ſon of his wife, might grate and provoke the ſpirit of the populace.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XIII.

The SUMMARY.

Silanus, *Proconſul of Aſia, poiſoned at the inſtigation of* Agrippina. Narciſſus, *freedman to the late Emperor, doomed to die. The funeral of* Claudius. Nero's *Panegyric upon him.* Nero's *reign begins well. The Senate left to act independently. The Parthians aim at the poſſeſſion of Armenia.* Corbulo *employed againſt them.* Nero *his paſſion for* Acte. Agrippina *provoked by it, and thence loſes credit with her ſon.* Pallas *removed from the adminiſtration.* Britannicus *poiſoned.* Agrippina *grows obnoxious to* Nero; *is accuſed before him, and acquitted.* Nero's *wild revellings during the night. Debate about recalling inſolent freedmen to their former bondage. Some eminent men condemned. Natural deaths. New broils with the Parthians about Armenia.* Corbulo *inures his men to ſevere and primitive diſcipline; invades Armenia, ſtorms ſeveral ſtrong holds, takes the city of Artaxata, and burns*

burns it. Tiridates *flies before him.* P. Suilius *condemned.* Octavius Sagitta, *in the rage of love, ſtabs* Pontia, *his former miſtreſs, upon her refuſing to marry him. His freedman takes the fact upon himſelf.* Nero *conceives a paſſion for* Poppæa Sabina. *Her hiſtory, character, and arts.* Cornelius, *through the Emperor's jealouſy, baniſhed to Marſeilles. The exorbitance of the publicans reſtrained. The Friſians endeavour to ſettle near the Rhine, but are driven thence by the Roman horſe, and routed. The Anſibarians make the ſame attempt, with the ſame ill fortune. Fierce war between the Hermondurians and Cattians; the latter almoſt utterly cut off in a great battle. Strange eruption of fire in the territory of the Juhonęs.*

THE firſt victim under the new Prince was Junius Silanus, Proconſul of Aſia, diſpatched unknown to Nero, by the fraud of Agrippina: not that he had provoked his fate by any turbulence of ſpirit, having lived in ſuch ſloth and even ſuch ſcorn, during the late reigns, that Caligula was wont to call him the golden ſheep. But Agrippina feared that he might prove the avenger of the murder of his brother Lucius Silanus, by her formerly procured. For, it was now the current rumour amongſt the populace, that, ‘ as Nero was ‘ ſcarce paſt his childhood, and by iniquity had ac- ‘ quired the Empire; ſuch a man was to be pre- ‘ ferred to him, one of compoſed age, ſpotleſs in- ‘ tegrity, noble, and (which was then highly priz- ‘ ed) deſcended from the Cæſars.’ For, he too was the great grandſon of Auguſtus. Such was the cauſe of his doom; the inſtruments were Publius Celer a Roman Knight, and Helius the freedman, both employed to manage the Emperor's domeſtic revenue in Aſia. By them the Proconſul had poiſon given him at a banquet, ſo openly, as if they

meant not to diſavow it. Nor was leſs haſte uſed to diſpatch Narciſſus, the late Emperor's freedman, whoſe bold invectives againſt Agrippina I have mentioned. In a rigorous priſon, and through the miſerable extremity of want, he was conſtrained to die, ſore againſt the mind of Nero, who, however he hitherto ſmothered his vices, bore a wonderful conformity to the temper of Narciſſus, profuſe and rapacious like his own.

A torrent of ſlaughters was about to have followed, had not Afranius Burrhus and Annæus Seneca prevented it. Theſe were the governors of the Emperor's youth, and though engaged in partnerſhip of power, yet, by a rare example, well united, men different in their accompliſhments, but of equal weight and authority. Burrhus his inſtructor in leſſons of arms, and the gravity of manners, Seneca in the precepts of eloquence, and polite addreſs. In this office they helped and ſupported each other, the eaſier to manage between them the dangerous age of the Prince; or if he rejected the purſuits of virtue, to reſtrain him at leaſt within the bounds of guiltleſs pleaſures. One conſtant ſtruggle they both had againſt the tempeſtuous ſpirit of Agrippina, who was tranſported with every luſt of lawleſs dominion, and, in her deſigns, upheld by Pallas, the ſame who had led Claudius into that inceſtuous match, then into the fatal adoption, and by both, into his own deſtruction. But Nero's temper was not ſuch as to be controuled by ſlaves; and Pallas too having exceeded the liberties of a ſlave manumiſed, had by his horrid arrogance provoked Nero's diſguſt. Upon Agrippina however, in public, he accumulated all kinds of honours, nay to a Tribune once, who, according to the diſcipline of the ſoldiery, deſired the word, gave that of *excellent mother*; by the Senate too were decreed her two Lictors, with the character of Prieſteſs to Claudius. To him at the ſame time

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was ordained a cenſorial funeral, and afterwards deification.

The day of burial, his funeral praiſes were pronounced by Nero, who, whilſt he carefully recounted the antiquity of his lineage, the many Conſulſhips, the many triumphs of his anceſtors, others as carefully liſtened. The diſplay too of his acquirements in Letters, was heard with attention and pleaſure, as alſo the obſervation, that during his reign no calamity from foreigners had befallen the ſtate. But when he fell into a commemoration of the wiſdom and providence of Claudius, not a ſoul could refrain from laughter, though the ſpeech was of Seneca's compoſing, and diſcovered much accuracy and fineneſs, as he had, in truth, a beautiful genius, and ſtile well ſuited to the taſte of that time. Old men, who make it their recreation to draw parallels between things preſent and paſt, took notice, that Nero was the firſt Roman Emperor who needed the aid of another man's eloquence. For, Cæſar the Dictator was ranked with the moſt diſtinguiſhed Orators. Auguſtus too had an eaſy and flowing elocution, ſuch as became a Prince. Tiberius alſo poſſeſſed the art of marſhalling words; his ſentiments were likewiſe ſtrong, and it was from policy that ſometimes his expreſſions were obſcure. Even the diſordered ſpirit of Caligula impaired not his addreſs and energy in ſpeaking. Nor was Claudius wanting in elegance of diſcourſe, when his diſcourſe was the effect of ſtudy. Nero, even from his childhood, had abandoned his lively imagination to other occupations and diverſions, to graving, painting, ſinging, and managing the horſe, at times too in compoſing poems, whence ſome grounds of ſcience appeared to have been in him.

Having finiſhed this mimickry of mourning, he repaired to the Senate, where, after an introduction concerning his eſtabliſhment in the Empire by the

authority of the fathers, and the common concurrence of the ſoldiery, he declared with what worthy purpoſes, and upon what good examples he aſſumed the Sovereignty; that his youth being never ruffled nor engaged in any of the animoſities of civil wars, or any domeſtic diſſenſions, he brought with him no ſpirit of hatred, no ſenſe of injuries, nor appetite of revenge. He then propoſed the ſcheme of his future rule, and in it avoided carefully all thoſe late meaſures of reigning, which were ſtill freſh and odious; 'for that he claimed not the judgment and 'deciſion of affairs, nor would allow the ſhuting 'up thoſe who were accuſed in the ſame houſe with 'their accuſers, and by it ſuſtained the impotent 'tyranny of a few. Nothing ſhould be ſaleable 'within his walls, nor any acceſs there to intrigues 'of ambition. Between his family and the republic 'a juſt diſtinction ſhould be maintained; the Senate 'ſhould uphold her ancient juriſdiction; Italy, and 'all thoſe provinces, which depended upon the People and Senate, ſhould apply only to the tribunal of 'the Conſuls, and by them procure acceſs to the 'Fathers. To himſelf he reſerved what was eſpecially committed to his truſt, the direction of the 'armies.'

This declaration wanted no ſincerity, and by the Senate many regulations were made, agreeable to their own good liking, particularly that no advocate ſhould defend a cauſe for gift or payment, and that thoſe who were deſigned Quæſtors, ſhould be no longer obliged to exhibit public ſhews of Gladiators. All this was oppoſed by Agrippina, as what reſcinded the acts of Claudius; but the Fathers prevailed, though by her contrivance they were purpoſely aſſembled in the palace, that there poſted by a door behind a curtain, ſecure from ſight, ſhe might yet eaſily overhear. Nay, at a time when the Embaſſadors from Armenia were pleading before Nero

a cauſe of their nation, ſhe was advancing to aſcend the Imperial Tribunal, and to ſit in joint judgment with the Emperor, if Seneca, ſeeing all the reſt mute through fear, had not remembered him 'to deſcend and meet his mother.' Thus, under the guiſe of filial reverence, that public diſgrace was prevented.

At the end of the year, tidings were brought by the flying alarms of rumour, 'that the Parthi-'ans having broke out into freſh hoſtilities, had ſeiz-'ed Armenia, and exterminated Rhadamiſtus,' who, often Sovereign of that Kingdom, and as often a fugitive, had now too abandoned the war. At Rome therefore, a city fond of deſcanting upon the public, they began to inquire, 'how a Prince, ſcarce 'paſſed his ſeventeenth year, could undertake ſo 'mighty a charge, how repulſe ſuch a potent foe? 'what protection to the State from a youth govern-'ed by a woman? would he, upon this occaſion alſo, 'act by the miniſtry of his tutors? would his tutors 'fight battles, ſtorm towns, and execute the other 'functions of war?' Others, on the contrary, alledged, 'that it had thus better happened, than if the 'weight, and care of that war had fallen upon Clau-'dius, under all the defects of old age and ſtupidity, 'one who would have blindly obeyed the dictates of 'his ſlaves. Burrhus and Seneca were known for men 'of long and various experience in affairs, and to 'the emperor himſelf how little was wanting of 'mature age? when Pompey, in his eighteenth 'year, Octavius Cæſar in his nineteenth, each ſuſ-'tained the weight of a civil war? Under public 'rulers, more was accompliſhed by counſels, and 'influence, than by arms and force. Nero beſides 'would ſoon exhibit a manifeſt proof, whether he 'employed worthy or unworthy Counſellors, if his 'choice of a General fell, without pique or parti-'ality, upon a man of ſignal reputation, rather than

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'upon one that was only wealthy, and truſted to 'favour and intrigues.'

Whilſt theſe and the like diſcourſes employed the public, Nero, to ſupply the Legions in the Eaſt, ordered recruits to be raiſed through the neighbouring provinces, and the Legions themſelves to be poſted near to Armenia; as alſo that the ancient Kings, Agrippa and Antiochus, ſhould make ready their forces, ſuch as might enable them to invade the territories of the Parthians; and that bridges ſhould be forthwith made upon the Euphrates. To Ariſtobulus he moreover committed the leſſer Armenia, and the region of Sophenes to Sohemus, with the enſigns of Royalty and title of Kings. There aroſe likewiſe to Vologeſes a competitor for his Crown, even his own ſon Vardanes. Hence the Parthians withdrew from Armenia, ſo as if they meant to return, and only poſtponed the war.

But, in the Senate, all this was extolled above meaſure, by ſuch as voted, 'that days of public 'ſupplications ſhould be decreed to the Gods, that 'on thoſe public days the Prince ſhould wear the 'triumphal robe; that he ſhould enter the city in 'the pomp of *Ovation*, that to him a ſtatue ſhould 'be erected, of the ſame bulk with that of Mars 'the Avenger, and in the ſame temple.' Beſides their habitual proneneſs to flattery, they ſincerely rejoiced that, for the reconqueſt of Armenia, he had preferred Domitius Corbulo, whence a door ſeemed to be opened for the reward of virtue and merit. The forces in the Eaſt were ſo divided, that part of the auxiliaries, with two Legions, were to remain in Syria, under the command of Numidius Quadratus governor of the province; an equal number of Romans and allies were aſſigned to Corbulo, with an addition of the cohorts, and other troops, which wintered in Cappadocia. The confederate Kings were ordered to obey either, according to the exigencies

exigencies of the war; but their affections were much more devoted to Corbulo, who, in order to take advantage of fame, which in all new enterprizes has ever moſt powerful influence, marched with expedition, and at Ægeas, a city of Cilicia, was met by Quadratus, who advanced purpoſely thus far, leſt Corbulo, if he had entered Syria to receive his forces there, ſhould draw upon himſelf the eyes of all men, large as he was in his perſon, a magnificent ſpeaker, and, beſides the eſteem of his wiſdom and great experience, even things empty in themſelves, his air and faſhion ſerved powerfully to recommend him.

Both, however, warned Vologeſes by meſſages, 'to prefer peace to war, and by delivering hoſtages to preſerve towards the Roman people 'that reverence which was wont to be paid by 'his anceſtors.' Vologeſes too, in order to make the more effectual preparations for war, or perhaps to remove under the name of hoſtages, ſuch as he ſuſpected of aiming at the Diadem, yielded the moſt illuſtrious of the family of Arſacides. They were received by Hiſteius the Centurion, who had been for this very end diſpatched to the King by Numidius. When this became known to Corbulo, he ordered Arrius Varus, Prefect of a Cohort, to go and take them; hence a quarrel aroſe between the Centurion and the Prefect, but, to prevent the ſame from becoming the ſport of foreign nations, to the hoſtages themſelves and deputies who conducted them, the deciſion of the difference was committed, and they preferred the pretenſions of Corbulo, in regard of his late exaltation, and even from a certain biaſs towards him in the hearts of our enemies. Hence a ſource of diſcord between the Generals. Numidius complained that he was bereft of what he had by his own counſels atchieved; Corbulo, on the contrary, maintained that the King had

had not inclined to yield hoſtages, till he himſelf being appointed to conduct the war, had changed his hopes into fear. Nero, to compoſe their jarrings, ordered public declarations to be made, "that for the ſucceſsful conduct of Quadratus and "Corbulo, the laurel ſhould be annexed to their "faſces." Theſe tranſactions, though they reached into the year of the ſucceeding Conſuls, I have thus laid together.

The ſame year, Nero applied to the Senate for a ſtatue to his father Domitius, and for the Conſular ornaments to Aſconius Labeo, who had been his Tutor. Statues to himſelf of ſolid ſilver and gold, he refuſed, and oppoſed ſuch who propoſed them; and, notwithſtanding an ordinance of Senate, that the year for the future ſhould begin on December, the month in which Nero was born, he preſerved the ancient ſolemnity of beginning the year with the firſt of January. Neither would he admit a criminal proſecution againſt Carinas Celer the Senator, upon the accuſation of a ſlave; nor againſt Julius Denſus of the Equeſtrian Order, charged as a delinquent for his devotion to Britannicus.

In the Conſulſhip of Nero and Lucius Antiſtius, as the Magiſtrates were ſwearing upon the acts of the Emperors, he withheld Antiſtius his collegue from ſwearing upon his; an action copiouſly extolled by the Fathers, with deſign that his youthful ſpirit, firſt animated by the glory reſulting from light things, might proceed to court the ſame in things which were greater. There followed an inſtance of his mercy towards Plautius Lateranus, formerly degraded from the order of Senator, for adultery with Meſſalina, but now by Nero reſtored. He choſe to make many profeſſions of clemency in the frequent ſpeeches with Seneca, either to manifeſt what worthy counſels he gave, or in oſtentation

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of his own wit, uttered in publick by the mouth of the Emperor.

In the mean while, the authority of his mother became by little and little ſlighted and impaired; for Nero having fallen into a paſſion for a franchiſed damſel, her name Acte, at the ſame time aſſumed as confidents in his amour Otho and Claudius Senecio, the firſt of a Conſular family, the other a ſon of one of the Emperor's freedmen, both youths of graceful perſons, who firſt, unknown to his mother, then in ſpight of her, had by fellowſhip in luxury and ſecret pleaſures crept into an unbounded intimacy with him. Nor did even his ſevereſt miniſters thwart this intrigue, when with a woman of low condition, to the injury of no man, the Prince ſatisfied his youthful inclinations and pleaſures. For, Octavia his wife, however illuſtrious in her birth, however celebrated for her virtue, he intirely nauſeated, whether from blind fatality, or that forbidden purſuits are more prevalent and attractive. Beſides, it was dreaded that, had he been withheld from that gallantry, he would have daringly polluted Ladies of high quality.

Now Agrippina ſtormed, 'that a manumiſed 'ſlave was become her competitreſs, a handmaid 'her daughter-in-law,' with other the like angry invectives of an incenſed woman. Nor would ſhe practiſe the leaſt patience, till her ſon were reclaimed by being aſhamed or ſurfeited; though the fouler her reproaches were, the more vehemently ſhe fired his paſſion. So that, overcome at laſt by its ſuperior force, he ſhook off all reverence for his mother, and ſurrendered himſelf intirely to Seneca, who had a friend named Annæus Serenus, that had hitherto cloaked the Prince's paſſion for Acte, by feigning one of his own, and furniſhed his name, that in it he might openly preſent to her whatever Nero in ſecret beſtowed upon her. And now A-

grippina,

grippina, changing her arts and addreſs, aſſailed his youthful ſpirit with ſoftneſs and blandiſhments, ſhe offered him 'her own chamber, that there, and 'even within her own arms, he might more co-'vertly accompliſh whatever the warmth of his 'youth and ſovereign fortune prompted him to.' She even acknowledged her unſeaſonable rigour, and tendered him the diſpoſal of all her wealth, not far ſhort of the Imperial treaſures. For, as ſhe had lately been over ſtrict in checking her ſon, ſo now ſhe was become beyond meaſure ſubmiſſive and condeſcending. This ſudden change deceived not Nero; and his cloſeſt friends dreading it, beſought him, "to beware of ſnares from a woman always "implacable, and then both implacable and diſ-"ſembling." It happened about that time, that as Nero was ſurveying the precious ornaments, in which the wives and mothers of the Emperors were wont to ſhine, he choſe out certain rich raiment with many jewels, and ſent them as preſents to his mother; nor were the ſame any wiſe ſtinted, ſince the choiceſt things, and ſuch as others paſſionately covet, were by him, unaſked, preſented to her. But Agrippina waxed violent, and ſaid, 'that by theſe gifts, the adorning of her perſon 'was not intended, but rather her excluſion from 'all beſides; and her ſon would thus divide with 'her what he had wholly received from her.' Nor were there wanting thoſe who related theſe her words with aggravations.

Nero therefore, provoked with thoſe who managed and upheld the imperious ſpirit of Agrippina, diſmiſſed Pallas from the employment which he had received from Claudius, and in it had acted like the ſovereign director of the Empire. It is reported that, as he departed the palace, attended by a mighty throng of followers, Nero ſaid, not unpleaſantly, 'Pallas is going to abdicate his ſovereignty."

Pallas

Pallas had, in truth, ſtipulated,' That he ſhould ' be queſtioned for no part of his paſt behaviour; ' and, for his accounts, the public ſhould have ' no more demands upon him, than he upon the ' public." After this Agrippina quite abandoned herſelf to a ſtile of threats and terrors, nor ſpared ſhe to utter them in the Emperor's hearing, but declared, ' that Britannicus was now grown up, ' the natural deſcendent from Claudius, and worthy ' to aſſume the Empire of his father; an Empire ' which one, who was a ſon only by adoption and ' ingraftment, ſwayed by trampling upon his own ' mother. She freely conſented that all the cry- ' ing calamities brought upon that unhappy houſe, ' ſhould be laid open to the world, and firſt in ' the liſt her own inceſtuous marriage with her ' uncle, then her own guilt in poiſoning her huſ- ' band. One only conſolation, by the providence ' of the Gods and her own, remained to her, that ' her ſtep-ſon was ſtill left alive; with him ſhe ' would repair to the camp, where, on one ſide, ' would be heard the daughter of Germanicus, on ' the other, Burrhus and Seneca, the firſt with his ' maimed hand, the ſecond with the ſtile of a peda- ' gogue, both engaged in a conteſt with her about ' the ſovereign rule of human kind.' At the ſame time ſhe toſſed her menacing hands, accumulated reproaches, invoked the deified Claudius, with the manes of the Silani, and of ſo many others whoſe murders ſhe had in vain perpetrated!

All this alarmed Nero, and as the following day was that of the nativity of Britannicus, who on it accompliſhed his fourteenth year, he revolved, within himſelf, now upon the violent ſpirit of his mother, then upon the promiſing genius of that youth, of which, during the late Feſtival of the Saturnalia, he had given a remarkable ſpecimen, and by it acquired univerſal eſteem. Beſides other ſports, on that

that occaſion, amongſt them and others of the like age and condition, as they drew lots who ſhould be King of the play, the lot fell upon Nero. He therefore, in that quality, gave to all the reſt diſtinct commands, yet ſuch as expoſed them to no ridicule; but that to Britannicus was, to ſtand forth in the center of the company, and there begin ſome ſong. From attempting this taſk he hoped the boy would become an object of laughter, untrained as he was even in the parts of ſober converſation, much more in the rants of drunkards. Britannicus, however, with an addreſs ſteady and undiſturbed, raiſed his voice to ſome verſes which imported, how he 'was bereft of his natural inheritance and the Im-'perial power.' Hence he drew compaſſion from thoſe who heard him, which was the more unreſtrained, for that their gaity and the night had baniſhed hypocriſy. Nero was ſtruck with the invidious application, and grew into ſtill more mortal hate; but, however urged to diſpatch by the menaces of Agrippina, yet as his brother was without crime, and openly he dared not command his execution, he ſet about a ſecret machination. He ordered poiſon to be prepared, and as his agent in it employed Julius Pollio Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort, in whoſe cuſtody was kept a woman under condemnation for poiſoning, Locuſta, famous for many black iniquities in that art. For, as to any obſtacle from thoſe who were neareſt about the perſon of Britannicus, care had been long ſince taken that they ſhould be ſuch as were to have no ſenſe of common honeſty, or conſcience of their faith and duty. The firſt poiſon he took was even adminiſtered by the hands of his governors, but without effect, being voided in a looſeneſs; whether in itſelf it wanted energy, or, to prevent a diſcovery by its ſudden rage, had been qualified. Nero, who was impatient of ſlow progreſs in his cruelty, threatened

tened terribly the Tribune, and was dooming the Sorceresſs to execution, ‘ for that, whilſt they only ‘ apprehended the out-cries of the people, and ‘ were meditating ways to acquit themſelves, they ‘ poſtponed the ſecurity of the Prince.’ Hence they undertook to prepare a doſe which, ſudden as a dagger, ſhould diſpatch him, and in a chamber next to the Emperor's, the deadly potion was ſeethed, compounded of ſeveral poiſons, all of experienced rapidity.

At meals, it was the manner of the children of Princes, accompanied with other young nobles, to be ſerved in a ſitting poſture, in the ſight of their neareſt kindred, at a ſeparate table, and more ſparingly covered. While Britannicus was thus at meat, the opportunity was taken; but, foraſmuch as whatever he eat or drank, was firſt tried by a ſpecial officer of his, a taſter, to the end therefore that neither this uſage might be omitted, nor by the death of both, the iniquity be detected, the guile was thus concerted. To Britannicus drink was preſented, ſuch as was yet free from all infection, and tried by the taſter, but ſcalding hot, and for that reaſon returned by Britannicus; hence it was qualified with cold water, in which the poiſon was poured, which ſeized all his organs with ſuch ſudden efficacy, that he was at once bereft of ſpeech and life. Fear and trembling poſſeſſed his companions; ſuch too as comprehended not the myſtery, inſtantly retired, but thoſe of deeper diſcernment remained, with their eyes fixed ſtedfaſtly upon Nero, who, as he lay in a reclining poſture, declared, with the air of one utterly ignorant, “ ‘That it was a uſual ‘ fit of the falling-ſickneſs, with which Britannicus ‘ from his early childhood had been afflicted, and ‘ by degrees his ſight and underſtanding would re- ‘ turn.’ But in Agrippina ſuch tokens of dread and conſternation of ſpirit broke out, though by diſguiſed

looks

looks ſhe laboured to ſmother the ſame, that it was manifeſt ſhe was as much a ſtranger to the doom of Britannicus as was his own ſiſter Octavia; for, by his death ſhe was ſenſible, that her laſt refuge was ſnatched from her, and ſaw an awakening example of parricide before her. Even Octavia, however raw in years, had learnt to hide under diſſimulation her grief and tenderneſs, and every other affection of her ſoul. So, after a ſhort ſilence, the pleaſantry of the entertainment was reſumed.

Upon one and the ſame night were ſeen the untimely fate of Britannicus and his funeral pile; for beforehand had been prepared all the appointments for his burial, which itſelf proved but moderate and ſtinted. In the Field of Mars, however, his remains were repoſited, during ſuch tempeſtuous rains as the populace believed to be denunciations of the wrath of the Deities againſt the crying deed; a deed which yet was in the judgment of many men, entituled to pardon, whilſt they conſidered the wonted diſſenſions eternally happening between rival brothers, and the incommunicable genius of ſovereignty. It is related by moſt of the writers of thoſe times, that, for ſome time before the murder, Nero had defiled the youth by frequent conſtupration; ſo that this his death, however ſuddenly procured during the inviolable hoſpitality of the table, and ſo precipitately that to his ſiſter not a moment was allowed for a laſt embrace, and under the eye of his capital enemy, yet could not appear too early incurred, nor even cruelly inflicted, though by it the laſt branch of the Claudian race was extirpated, ſince it was a branch vitiated by unnatural pollution before it periſhed by poiſon. Nero, by an edict, juſtified the haſty diſpatch of the obſequies; the ſame, he ſaid, was the inſtitution of our anceſtors, 'preſently to withdraw from the eyes of the pub-'lic the corſes of ſuch as fell before their prime,

nor

'nor to ſtay to lengthen the ſolemnity by pomp and 'funeral orations. He too in Britannicus had loſt 'the ſupport of a brother; hence all his ſurviving 'hopes reſted ſolely in the Commonwealth, and 'hence with the greater tenderneſs ought the Se-'nate and people to cheriſh a Prince, who alone 'ſurvived of a family born to ſuſtain ſovereignty."

He then diſtinguiſhed his moſt noted friends with great donations; nor were there wanting ſuch as ſeverely cenſured ſome, who notwithſtanding their avowed gravity, were yet parting amongſt themſelves, like ſpoils taken in war, the poſſeſſions of Britannicus, his palaces in Rome, and his manors and villas throughout Italy. Others believed, that they were conſtrained to accept them, by the authority of the Emperor, who ſtung with the guilt of his own conſcience, hoped that his crimes would be overlooked, if by largeſſes he could engage in his intereſt the moſt powerful men in the ſtate. But his mother's wrath, no liberalities could aſſwage; ſhe was ſtill careſſing Octavia, ſtill holding ſecret cabals with her confidents; and, beſides the uſual cravings of her inherent avarice, ſhe was on all hands exacting and amaſſing treaſure, as if by it ſhe had ſome great deſign to ſupport. The Tribunes and Centurions ſhe received with great court and affability, and to the quality and merit of ſuch of the virtuous nobility as even then remained, ſhe paid diſtinguiſhed honour; as if ſhe were thus ſtudying to create a party, and find a leader. Theſe her meaſures were known to Nero; and therefore the guards which attended at her gate (a pre-eminence which ſhe held as conſort to the late Emperor, and had continued to her, as mother to this) were by his order withdrawn, together with the band of Germans which, as an additional honour, had been joined to the former. Moreover, to prevent her being followed by ſuch a throng of courtiers, he

ſeparated her habitation from his, and conveyed her into the houſe which had belonged to Antonia. There, as often as he viſited her, he went always ſurrounded with a crowd of officers, and after the ſhort ceremony of returning her ſalute, immediately departed.

Of all mortal things there is nought ſo unſtable and tranſitory, as the name of power which ſtands not upon its own native vigour and baſis. Inſtantly the houſe of Agrippina was deſerted; none appeared to give her conſolation, none to viſit her, except ſome few Ladies, and whether from affection or hate they did it, is uncertain. Amongſt theſe was Junia Silana, ſhe who was by Meſſalina divorced from Caius Silius, as above I have recounted, a Lady ſignal in her quality, beauty, and lewdneſs, and one, for a long while, very dear to Agrippina; but, between them afterwards ſecret heart-burnings and reſentments aroſe, for that Sextius Africanus, a noble youth, purpoſing to eſpouſe Silana, was diverted by Agrippina, who urged, 'that ſhe was 'lewd, and paſt her prime:' not that ſhe meant to reſerve Africanus for herſelf, but leſt by marrying Silana, he ſhould, as ſhe had no children, with her poſſeſs all her wealth. Silana, who thought ſhe ſaw a proſpect of vengeance, inſtructed two of her own creatures, Iturius and Calviſtus, to accuſe her; neither did ſhe attack her with ſtale charges often before alledged, ſuch 'as her bewailing the 'fate of Britannicus, and publiſhing the wrongs 'done to Octavia, but with deſigns to ſtir up Rube-'lius Plautus to make a revolution in the ſtate, a 'nobleman who, by his mother, was in blood as 'nigh as Nero to the deified Auguſtus; that by 'eſpouſing him and inveſting him with Empire, 'ſhe meant once more, to ſeize the Common-'wealth.' All this was by Iturius and Calviſius imparted to Atimetus freedman to Domitia, Nero's aunt.

aunt. Atimetus, overjoyed at the diſcovery, (for between Agrippina and Domitia a paſſionate competition was maintained) inſtigated Paris the player, who was alſo Domitia's freedman, to proceed with all haſte to the Emperor, 'and there in tragical 'colours, to announce the crime.'

It was far in night, and Nero was waſting the remainder in carouſing, when Paris entered, who elſe was wont at ſuch ſeaſons to heighten the voluptuous gayeties of the Prince; but now, with a face carefully framed into ſadneſs, he laid before Nero a minute and orderly detail of the conſpiracy, and by it ſo thoroughly affrighted him, that he not only determined the death of his mother and of Plautus, but alſo to remove Burrhus the captain of his guards, as one who owed his promotion to the favour of Agrippina, and would be ready to return her the like good office. We have it upon the authority of Fabius Ruſticus, 'That to Cæcina Tuſcus a codi-'cil was already diſpatched, entruſting him with 'the command of the Prætorian bands, but that, 'through the credit and mediation of Seneca, Bur-'rhus retained his dignity.' According to the account of Cluvius and Pliny, no jealouſy was entertained concerning the fidelity of the Præfect. But, it muſt be owned that Fabius, manifeſts a conſtant zeal to extoll Seneca, by whoſe friendſhip his own fortune flouriſhed. As my own purpoſe is to follow the general conſent of authors, ſo I ſhall inſert under the name of each whatever they diverſly publiſh. Nero, poſſeſſed with dread, and with a blind paſſion to ſlay his mother, could not be brought to defer his cruel purpoſes, till Burrhus undertook for her execution, in caſe ſhe were convicted of the imputed crimes; 'but, to every one, whoever it were, a 'liberty of defence, he ſaid, muſt be granted, how 'much more to a mother? Nor, in truth, againſt 'her did any accuſers appear, but only the hearſay

‘ of one man, and by him brought from the houſe
‘ of her enemy, a hearſay too which the circum-
‘ ſtances and unſeaſonable hour contributed to re-
‘ fute; it was during the dead darkneſs and ſolitude
‘ of the night, and during a night ſpent in the feſti-
‘ vity of banquetting, when all things conſpired to
‘ produce only raſh judgment and uncertainty.”

The Emperor’s fears being thus in ſome meaſure aſſwaged and day returned, recourſe was had to Agrippina herſelf, that having notified to her the ſeveral charges againſt her, ſhe might invalidate the ſame, or bear the puniſhment. Theſe orders were performed by Burrhus, in the preſence of Seneca; there attended likewiſe ſome of the Emperor’s freedmen, to watch his diſcourſe. Burrhus, after he had to her explained her crimes, and given her the names of thoſe who alledged them, proceeded to high words and menaces. Agrippina retained ſtill the wonted fierceneſs of her ſpirit; ‘ I wonder not, ſaid ſhe,
‘ that to Silana who never bore a child, the tender
‘ affections of a mother are thus unknown; for
‘ children are not ſo eaſily changed by their parents,
‘ as by a harlot are her adulterers; nor, becauſe
‘ Iturius and Calviſius, after having riotouſly de-
‘ voured their whole fortunes, proſtitute themſelves,
‘ for their laſt reſource, to gratify the vengeance
‘ of an old woman, by turning my accuſers, does
‘ it therefore follow that I am to undergo the foul
‘ infamy of parricide, or that any apprehenſions
‘ ſhould thence alarm the mind of Cæſar. As to
‘ Domitia, I would thank her even for all the ef-
‘ forts of her enmity to me, if in inſtances of tender-
‘ neſs towards my child Nero, ſhe would ſtrive to
‘ exceed me. At preſent, by the miniſtration of
‘ Atimetus her minion, and of Paris the player, ſhe
‘ is framing a plot, like one for the ſtage; but ſhe
‘ was occupied in trimming the canals of her villa

‘ at

'at Baiæ, at a time when by my councils and ma-
'nagement, he was adopted into the Claudian name,
'inveſted with the Proconſular authority, deſigned
'to the Conſulſhip, and all other meaſures taken
'proper for acquiring him the Empire. In ſhort,
'produce the perſon, who can charge me, either
'with attempting the faith of the guards at Rome,
'or with ſhaking the allegiance of the provinces,
'or with ſuborning the Prince's ſlaves and freedmen
'to treaſon againſt his perſon. Under the reign of Bri-
'tannicus, indeed, had he poſſeſſed the ſovereignty,
'I could have preſerved my life; but, were Plautus
'or any other to gain the ſupreme rule, and thence
'a power of pronouncing judgment upon any
'proceſs againſt me, is it likely that I ſhould want
'accuſers, when, even under Nero, there are thoſe
'who ſtand up to accuſe me, not of words, ſome-
'times by me incautiouſly uttered in the heat of
'affection and pity, but of treaſon ſo flagrant, that
'only through the bowels of a ſon for his mother,
'can I be acquitted by mine?' Compunction ſeized
all who attended her; they voluntarily ſtrove to
allay the ſwellings of her heart, and ſhe demand-
ed an interview with her ſon. During it, ſhe al-
ledged not a ſyllable in behalf of her innocence,
like one who miſtruſted herſelf, nor of his engage-
ments to gratitude, like one who could reproach
him for want of it, but inſiſted that vengeance
ſhould be done upon her accuſers, recompences be
conferred on her friends, and obtained both. To
Fenius Ruſus was granted the ſuperintendance of
proviſions, to Arruntius Stella the direction of the
public ſhews, which the Emperor was preparing to
exhibit, and to Caius Balbillus the government of
Ægypt; that of Syria was aſſigned to Publius An-
teius, but by various feints and ſtratagems he was,
from time to time, eluded of the poſſeſſion, and at

laſt detained for good and all at Rome. Silana was ſent into exile. Calviſius too and Iturius were baniſhed. Upon Atimetus capital pains were inflicted; but Paris was of too prevailing conſequence to the Emperor in his debauches, to be ſubjected to puniſhment. Plautus was for the preſent paſſed over in ſilence.

A charge was thereafter brought againſt Pallas and Burrhus, 'for having engaged in a deſign of 'advancing to the Empire Cornelius Sylla, in re-'gard of his ſplendid deſcent and alliance with Clau-'dius,' whoſe ſon-in-law he was, having eſpouſed his daughter Antonia. This accuſation was ſupported by one Pætus, a fellow infamous for buſily promoting confiſcations in the exchequer, and purchaſing the effects of ſuch as were condemned. Equally notorious too, upon this occaſion, was the vanity and falſhood of his allegations; yet, the apparent innocence of Pallas proved not ſo well pleaſing, as his arrogance proved ſhocking; for, upon naming to him thoſe of his freedmen who were ſaid to have been his accomplices, he anſwered, 'That 'at home he never uſed any other way of ſignifying 'his pleaſure than ſometimes by a nod, ſometimes 'by a motion of his hand; or, if his commands 'conſiſted of many particulars, he then committed 'the ſame to writing; ſo that, at all adventures, 'he ever avoided to mix in diſcourſe with his dome-'ſtics.' Burrhus, notwithſtanding he was arraigned, ſate and voted with the other judges, and upon the accuſer the doom of baniſhment was inflicted. His duplicates too were burnt, the inſtruments by which he was wont to exact freſh payment to the cancelled claims of the exchequer.

Towards the cloſe of the year, was removed the band of men which, as a guard, was wont to attend at the celebration of the public plays, thence to exhibit

hibit a more plauſible appearance of popular liberty, as alſo to preſerve the ſoldiery from tainting their diſcipline by the diſſolute licentiouſneſs of the theatre, and moreover ‘ to prove, whether the populace ‘ would ſtill retain the ſame modeſty of behaviour, ‘ now the guards were removed.’ At the admonitions of the ſoothſayers, the Emperor purified the city by luſtration, for that the temples of Jupiter and Minerva had been ſtruck with lightning.

In the Conſulſhip of Quintus Voluſius and Publius Scipio, while profound quiet reigned all over the Empire abroad, abominable revellings prevailed at Rome, under the leading of Nero, who, diſguiſed in the habit of a ſlave, went roaming about the ſtreets, and ſcoured the public inns and ſtews, followed by a ſet of companions, who ſeized as prey whatever ſtood expoſed to ſale, and aſſaulted whomſoever they met; and all theſe violences were committed upon people ſo unapprized of the author, that he himſelf was once wounded, and bore the ſcar in his face. When afterwards it came to be divulged, that it was the Emperor who rioted thus, and as freſh outrages were daily done to men and ladies of illuſtrious quality, the name of Nero being once uſed to warrant licentiouſneſs, was falſly aſſumed as a cloak by others, and many with their own ſeparate gangs boldly practiſed the ſame exceſſes. So that ſuch were the nightly combuſtions at Rome, as if the city had been ſtormed and the inhabitants taken captive. Julius Montanus, one in the rank of Senators, but hitherto inveſted with no Magiſtracy, having caſually encountered the Prince in the dark, reſolutely repulſed his aſſaults, and afterwards diſcovering him, implored his forgiveneſs; but, as if he had reproached the Emperor, by owning that he knew him, he was compelled to die. Thenceforward, however, Nero became more fear-

ful, and in theſe his rambles fortified himſelf with a party of ſoldiers and a great train of Gladiators. Theſe interpoſed not in the beginning of a fray, nor while the ſame continued but moderately high, as if it were only a quarrel between particulars, and they were unconcerned; but, if ſuch as were inſulted, reſiſted with vigour, inſtantly the men of arms fell on. Nay, at the diverſions of the theatre, the ſeveral parties that favoured particular players, were by him turned into hoſtile factions, encountering as it were in battle, animated, indeed, by the influence of impunity and rewards. Beſides, he greedily attended thoſe broils, ſometimes concealed, and often as an avowed ſpectator. Theſe tumults went on, till the people being heated and rent into diſſenſions, and commotions ſtill more terrible apprehended, no other remedy was found but that of driving the players out of Italy, and of recalling the ſoldiers to guard the theatre.

About the ſame time the Senate had under conſideration the inſolence and baſe dealings of the Freedmen towards their Lords; and it was demanded with great eagerneſs, 'That to patrons a pri-'vilege ſhould be granted of revoking the liberty 'of ſuch as ungratefully uſed it.' For this many were ready to vote; but the Conſuls were afraid to propoſe the queſtion, without apprizing the Prince: they, however, acquainted him by writing, with the concurrence and biaſs of the Senate, and conſulted him whether he would be declared the author of this decree, which was oppoſed by ſo few. They laid before him the reaſonings on both ſides, as ſome urged with great vehemence and reſentment, 'That, ſince their inveſtiture with liberty, to ſuch 'an exceſs of inſolence they had ſoared, that they 'ſcarce allowed their patrons the common treat-'ment of equals, but aſſailed them with inſults 'and violence, ſpurned at their motions in the Se-

'nate,

'nate, lifted up their hands againſt them, threa-
'tened them with blows; and, with outrageous im-
'pudence, warned their patrons from proſecuting
'the delinquencies of theſe their former ſlaves.
'And, in truth, what higher ſatisfaction or amends
'was permitted to the abuſed patron, than to baniſh
'his criminal freedmen an hundred miles off, into
'the pleaſant confines of Campania? In every other
'circumſtance the privileges of the freedman were
'the ſame with thoſe of his patron. It was there-
'fore expedient to arm the patron with ſome prero-
'gative not to be deſpiſed; nor could it be deem-
'ed any grievance upon ſlaves manumiſed, to pre-
'ſerve their liberty by the ſame dutiful obſervances
'by which they attained it. And, for thoſe al-
'ready notoriouſly guilty, it was but juſt to remand
'them to the yoke of ſervitude, that through their
'example, fear might curb ſuch as benefits could
'not amend.'

On the other ſide it was argued, 'That the
'tranſgreſſion of a few ought to prove pernicious
'only to themſelves, and nothing be derogated
'from the eſtabliſhed rights of all; they were a
'body widely diffuſed; from thence in a good mea-
'ſure the tribes were ſupplied, and the colleges of
'ſcribes often filled. From the ſame ſource aroſe
'the ſeveral officers attending the Magiſtrates and
'Pontiffs; from thence too the city cohorts were
'enrolled, nor from any other original did a multi-
'tude of Knights and many Senators derive their
'pedigree. Now if from the ſeveral ranks the deſ-
'cendents of freedmen were ſeparated, there would
'quickly be diſcovered a manifeſt ſcarcity of ſuch
'as were originally free. Not without good ground
'had our anceſtors, when they aſcertained the diſ-
'tinction and privileges of the three orders, award-
'ed undiſtinguiſhed liberty to all men. Beſides,
'there were two kinds of manumiſſion appointed,

'on purpoſe to reſerve a latitude for revoking liber-
'ty, where the grant was repented, or for the ex-
'erciſe of freſh generoſity, by rendering the favour
'irrevocable. Thoſe who had not been by their
'patron regularly freed before the Prætor, remained
'ſtill bound to him by a certain tye of ſervitude.
'Every patron muſt examine carefully the merit of
'ſuch as he meant to diſcharge, and grant with de-
'liberation an immunity, which once granted he
'could never annull.' This opinion prevailed; and Nero wrote to the Senate, that they ſhould try the offences of freedmen ſingly, whenever they were proſecuted by their patrons, but in nothing retrench from the rights of the body. Not long after Nero bereft Domitia, his aunt, of Paris her freedman, an act done by pretended law, to the great infamy of the Prince, ſince by his ſpecial authority was obtained the judgment which aſſerted him free born.

There, however, ſubſiſted ſtill ſome reſemblance of the ancient Republic: for, in the conteſt which aroſe between Vibullius the Prætor and Antiſtius Tribune of the people, about ſome turbulent partizans of the players, by the Prætor caſt into irons, and by order of the Tribune releaſed; the Senate affirmed the judgment of Vibullius, and reprimanded the arbitrary conduct of Antiſtius. The Tribunes were moreover prohibited from entrenching upon the juriſdiction of the Prætors and Conſuls, as alſo from ſummoning before them out of any quarters of Italy ſuch as might be tried at tribunals of their own. It was added by Lucius Piſo Conſul elect, 'That
'in their own houſes they ſhould not be allowed to
'exert any act of power, nor that under four months
'the Quæſtors of the Exchequer ſhould regiſter the
'mulcts by them laid; that in the interval there
'ſhould be privilege to controvert their ſentence,
'and that by one of the Conſuls the conteſt ſhould
'be determined.' The juriſdiction too of the Ædiles

Ædiles was further ſtraitened, and it was ſettled how high the Patrician Ædiles, how high the Plebeian, might exact ſuretics, and to what value impoſe penalties. Theſe proceedings encouraged Helvidius Priſcus to gratify his own perſonal pique againſt Obultronius Sabinius Quæſtor of the Exchequer, by charging him, 'that by his prerogative of 'confiſcating goods for taxes, he unmercifully ex-'torted upon the poor and inſolvent.' After this, the management of the Exchequer was by the Prince removed from the Quæſtors, and committed to the Præfects.

Various had been the regulations of this office, and its form often altered; for, Auguſtus had left to the Senate the power of chuſing the Præfects. Thereafter, as the ſuffrages were ſuſpected to have been gained by caballing, out of the liſt of Prætors were drawn by lot ſuch as were to preſide there. Neither held this expedient long; for that the blind lot often ſtrayed, and fell upon thoſe who were little qualified. Claudius therefore once more reſtored the Quæſtors; and, that the fear of raiſing enemies might not ſlacken their activity and inſpection, he promiſed them, by ſpecial diſpenſation, an immediate deſignation to the greater Magiſtracies; but, as this was the firſt which they ſuſtained, ripeneſs of age was found wanting in them; hence Nero choſe into their places ſuch as had exerciſed the Prætorſhip, and were of tried abilities.

Under the ſame Conſuls was condemned Vipſanius Lenas, for his rapacious adminiſtration in Sardinia. Ceſtius Proculus charged with extortion (his accuſers acquieſcing) was acquitted. Clodius Quirinalis, Admiral of the galleys which rode at Ravenna, as he ſtood convicted, 'for having by his pro-'fligate manners and acts of cruelty, infeſted Italy, 'and treated it as the moſt abject of all nations,' prevented by poiſon his impending condemnation.

Canninius Rebilus, one of the firſt rank in Rome, for his abilities in the law, and his abundant treaſures, choſe a quick releaſe from the torments of an old age broken with infirmities, by opening his veins, a man never before eſteemed of magnanimity ſufficient to encounter a voluntary death, infamous as he was for a life of laſciviouſneſs and effeminacy. But, illuſtrious and amiable in fame departed Lucius Voluſius, after a long life of ninety three years, and the upright acquiſition of ſignal opulence, with the ſingular felicity of having never rouſed the cruel ſpirit of ſo many Emperors.

During the ſecond Conſulſhip of Nero, and that of Lucius Piſo his collegue, few events occurred worthy commemoration, unleſs any writer liked to fill pages in magnifying the vaſt foundations and wooden ſtructure of the new Amphitheatre, an immenſe pile then erected by the Emperor in the Field of Mars. But to the dignity of the Roman people it belongs, that in their Hiſtory ſhould be inſerted illuſtrious events only, and in the City-Journals ſuch deſcriptions as thoſe. The Colonies however of Capua and Nuceria were ſtrengthened by a ſupply of Veterans; to the populace was diſtributed a largeſs of four hundred ſmall ſeſterces * a man; and into the Exchequer was conveyed the ſum of four hundred thouſand great ſeſterces †; as a fund to ſupport the credit of the Roman people. Moreover, the duty of four in the hundred upon the ſale of ſlaves, was remitted, an act rather ſpecious in appearance than of any efficacy; for, as the ſeller was obliged to pay it, he thence raiſed the price upon the buyer. The Emperor too iſſued an edict, 'that no Procurator, or any other Magiſtrate, who

* Betwixt twelve and thirteen Crowns.

† Three Millions one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds.

'had obtained a charge in any province, ſhould 'exhibit a ſpectacle of Gladiators or of wild beaſts, 'nor any other popular entertainment whatſoever.' For, before this, they had by ſuch acts of munificence no leſs afflicted thoſe under their juriſdiction, than by plundering them of their money, whilſt, under the influence of ſuch court to the multitude, they ſheltered their arbitrary delinquencies and rapine.

A decree of Senate alſo paſſed equally tending to the avenging of crimes, and providing for domeſtic ſecurity, 'that if any one was killed by his ſlaves, 'thoſe too, whom by his laſt will he had made free, 'if they ſtill continued under the ſame roof, ſhould 'amongſt his other ſlaves ſuffer execution.' Lucius Varius, one who had been Conſul, but for the crimes of rapine formerly branded with degradation, was now reſtored to his primitive dignity, and Pomponia Græcina a Lady of ſignal quality, arraigned of having embraced an extraneous ſuperſtition, was preferred to the inquiſition of her husband; for ſhe was married to Plautius, the ſame who upon his return from Britain, entered the city in the pomp of *Ovation*. Plautius aſſembled her kindred, and, in obſervance of primitive inſtitution, having in their preſence taken cognizance of the behaviour and reputation of his wife, adjudged her innocent. To a great age this Lady lived, and under inceſſant ſorrow; for ever after the untimely fate of Julia, (the daughter of Druſus) procured by the perfidious ſnares of Meſſalina, ſhe wore for the ſpace of forty years, no habit but that of mourning, entertained no ſentiments but thoſe of grief, a temper which during the reign of Claudius eſcaped with impunity, and redounded thereafter to her glory.

The ſame year produced many arraignments, and amongſt them one againſt Publius Celer, proſecuted by the province of Aſia, with ſuch inconteſtable evi-

evidence, that the Emperor, finding no pretence to diſcharge him, lengthened out the proceſs till he died of old age. For, Celer having, as is above remembered, diſpatched by poiſon the Proconſul Silanus, ſkreened under that mighty iniquity all his other enormities. Coſſutianus Capito was impleaded by the Cilicians, ‘ as a man utterly abominable and ‘ infamous, one who claimed authority to commit ‘ in his province the ſame bold exorbitancies which ‘ in Rome he had committed.’ And he found himſelf ſo ſorely beſet with the vigour of the accuſation, that at laſt he wholly abandoned his defence, and was condemned by the law againſt extortion. But, for Eprius Marcellus, who was charged by thoſe of Lycia with the violation of that very law, a faction ſo powerful was formed, that ſome of his accuſers were puniſhed with exile, ‘ as if they had conſpired ‘ the ruin of an innocent man.’

With Nero, now in his third Conſulſhip, Valerius Meſſala commenced collegue, he whoſe great grandfather Corvinus the Orator, was by ſome old men (very few) remembered to have been collegue in the ſame Magiſtracy with the deified Auguſtus, who, by one degree more remote, was anceſtor to Nero. But, as an additional honour to that illuſtrious family, a yearly penſion was preſented to Meſſala, of about twelve thouſand crowns, that by it he might relieve his honeſt poverty, and ſtill ſupport his integrity. To Aurelius Cotta alſo, and Haterius Antoninus, annual appointments were aſſigned by the Prince, though they had waſted in voluptuouſneſs their paternal wealth. In the beginning of this year the war between the Parthians and Romans, for the maſtery of Armenia, though it had commenced with faint efforts, and hitherto lingered, was proſecuted with vigour; for, Vologeſes would neither ſuffer his brother Tiridates to be bereft of the monarchy by himſelf conferred upon him,

nor

nor to hold the ſame as a gift from any other power; and Corbulo, eſteemed it becoming the grandeur of the Roman people, to re-eſtabliſh the conqueſts formerly made by Lucullus and Pompey. Moreover the Armenians, a people of double and faithleſs minds, invited the arms and protection of both, though, from the ſituation of their country and ſimilitude of manners, they ſtood in nearer conformity to the Parthians, being beſides commonly linked with them in conjugal alliances; and, being deſtitute of all experience or ſenſe of liberty, they were thence rather addicted to Parthian ſlavery.

But, to Corbulo it proved greater labour to ſtruggle with the degenerate ſloth of his ſoldiers, than againſt the perfidious dealings of his enemies. For, the Legions brought out of Syria, and enervated by long peace, bore with much impatience the laborious occupations of war. It fully appeared that in that army there were thoſe who had ſerved to the age of Veterans, and yet had never kept guard, never ſtood ſentry, men who beheld entrenchments and palliſades as ſights new and wonderful, and who, in ſpruce apparel and purſuit of gain, without ever wearing helmet or body-armour, had amongſt the delicacies of cities fulfilled the term of their ſervice. Having therefore diſcharged ſuch as were enfeebled by ſickneſs or age, he ſent to demand recruits. Hence levies were made through Cappadocia and Galatia, and to theſe was added a Legion from Germany, with ſome wings of horſe and a detachment of infantry from the Cohorts. The whole army too was incamped; though ſuch was the rigour of the winter, and ſo ſtubbornly had the froſt bound the earth, that without digging they could not pierce it in order to pitch their tents. Many had their limbs utterly ſcorched up by the raging cold, and ſome, as they ſtood ſentry, were frozen to death. More remarkable ſtill was the fate of one particular

ſoldier,

ſoldier, whoſe hands, as he carried in them a bundle of wood, ſtiffened and mortified ſo ſuddenly, that ſtill claſping their burden they dropped from his arms. The General himſelf, in a thin habit and his head bare, whether they marched or worked, was hourly amongſt them, commending the magnanimous, heartening the weak, and exhibiting an example to all. Next, as many refuſed to bear the aſperity of the weather and ſervice, and began to depart, he had recourſe to ſeverity for a cure; for, he proceeded not as in the other armies, where the firſt or ſecond offence was forgiven, but whoever deſerted his colours, was inſtantly put to death; a courſe which was by experience proved to be wholeſome, and preferable to that of clemency, ſince from his camp there were fewer deſertions, than from thoſe in which acts of mercy were wont to prevail.

Corbulo, the while, holding his Legions encamped, waited the advancement of the ſpring, and, having quartered the auxiliary Cohorts in convenient places, expreſly forewarned them that they ſhould not venture to engage firſt in a battle. The ſuperintendance of theſe garriſons he conferred upon Pactius Orphitus, one who had ſerved as Lieutenant Colonel of a Legion. This officer, although he acquainted the General by letter, that the Barbarians acted negligently, and thence an opportunity preſented of aſſailing them with ſucceſs, was ordered to abide within his entrenchments, and wait for greater forces; but, he broke through his orders, for, upon the arrival of ſome few troops of horſe, who, aſſembling from the neighbouring caſtles, raſhly demanded battle, he encountered the enemy, and was routed. Thoſe too, who ought to have reinforced him, being themſelves terrified with his diſaſter, betook themſelves to a cowardly and tumultuous flight, and returned to their ſeveral fortifications; an event which grievouſly affected Corbulo.

Hence,

Hence, after he had bitterly reproached Pactius himſelf and the captains and common ſoldiers, he expelled them all from the camp, doomed them to lie on the other ſide its encloſure, without tents or defence; and under this contumelious puniſhment they were held, till, at the univerſal ſupplications of the whole army, they were releaſed.

Now Tiridates, who over and above the forces which he drew from his own vaſſals, was ſupported by the might of his brother Vologeſes, proceeded no longer againſt Armenia by diſguiſed efforts, but attacked it with open war, and, upon all ſuch as he ſuſpected of attachment to us, committed depredations, but, where troops were drawn out againſt him, eluded the encounter, ſcouring to and fro, and affecting greater matters by the fame and terror of his incurſions, than by any exploits in fight. Corbulo therefore, having long laboured to come to an engagement, and being ſtill fruſtrated, found himſelf obliged to follow the method of the enemy, and make a circulatory war. Hence he diſtributed his forces ſo that his ſeveral Lieutenants might at once attack diverſe quarters; he at the ſame directed King Antiochus to fall into the Armenian diſtricts which lay contiguous to his own. For, as to Pharaſmanes King of Hiberia, having for the imputation of treaſon ſlain his ſon Rhadamiſtus, he was already, in order to diſplay his fidelity towards us, renewing with the more acrimony againſt the Armenians the exerciſe of his inveterate hate. The Inſechians too, a people ſince ſingularly attached to the Roman intereſt, were then firſt engaged in our alliance, and over-run the wilds of Armenia. Thus all the meaſures of Tiridates proved abortive and contradictory, ſo that he diſpatched Embaſſadors to expoſtulate, in his own name and that of the Parthians; 'upon 'what ſcore it was that, after he had ſo lately de-'livered hoſtages to the Romans, and with them re-

'renewed his former amity, which might reaſon-
'ably have proved to him a ſource of new friend-
'ſhip, he muſt yet be chaſed out of Armenia, a
'Kingdom ſo long in the poſſeſſion of his anceſtors?
'Hence it was, that Vologeſes had not hitherto
'taken arms in perſon, becauſe they both deſired
'to commit the juſtice of their cauſe to the way of
'accommodation rather than to that of violence.
'But, if war were ſtill to be obſtinately purſued, the
'Arſacides would not find themſelves forſaken of
'that victorious bravery ſo often tried by the Ro-
'mans, in many bloody overthrows.' Corbulo was well informed, that what engaged Vologeſes was the revolt of Hyrcania. He therefore, in anſwer to Tiridates, perſuaded him to apply to the Emperor with ſupplications; 'hence he might enjoy his
'Kingdom in ſecurity, and an eſtabliſhment with-
'out the expence of blood, if rejecting his remote
'and tedious hopes, he would cloſe with ſounder
'meaſures already concerted.'

But, as the buſineſs of peace was nothing advanced by an intercourſe of meſſengers, it was at laſt judged proper to aſcertain a time and place for an interview between the two chiefs. Tiridates declared, 'that he would come attended only by a
'guard of a thouſand horſe, but would not reſtrain
'Corbulo to any number of troops of any kind,
'provided they came without armour, as a proof
'of their diſpoſition to peace.' This perfidious wile of the Barbarian muſt have appeared manifeſt to every man breathing, eſpecially to an old and cautious Captain, ſince, by limiting the number of men on one ſide, and leaving liberty for a greater number on the other, nothing but a ſnare could be intended. For, againſt a body of Parthian horſemen conſtantly trained in the uſe of the bow, any numbers whatever, when naked of armour, would avail nothing. Corbulo, however, diſguiſed all his appre-

prehenſions of guile, and returned anſwer, 'that 'matters which concerned the intereſt of both their 'ſtates, would be more properly diſcuſſed in pre-'ſence of both armies.' Hence he choſe a ſtation conſiſting partly of hills riſing with a gentle ſlope, fit for embattling his infantry, partly of a large plain, affording ſcope for ranging the ſquadrons of horſe. On the day appointed, Corbulo advanced firſt, on the wings he poſted the ſocial troops and the auxiliary forces ſent by the confederate Kings, in the center the ſixth Legion, which he had ſtrengthened with three thouſand men of the third, led by night from another camp, all mixed together under one Eagle, to preſerve ſtill the appearance of a ſingle Legion. Tiridates at laſt appeared, but late in the day, and afar off, from whence he could be eaſier ſeen than heard. So that the Roman General, having obtained no conference, ordered his men to retire to their ſeveral camps.

The King too retreated in haſte, whether it were that he apprehended a deſign to ſurprize him, for that the Romans filed off in different routs, or, that he meant to intercept their proviſions which were coming from Trebizond and the Euxine ſea. But, as the proviſions paſſed over the mountains, which were ſecured by ſeveral bands of our men, he found no means to attack them; and Corbulo the while, that the war might not thus linger without action, and in order to force the Armenians to defend their own dwellings, ſet himſelf to raze their ſtrong holds. The attack of the ſtrongeſt of all thoſe in that quarter, the fort named Volandum, he reſerved to himſelf; and to Cornelius Flaccus his Lieutenant, and Inſteius Capito Camp Marſhal, committed thoſe of ſmaller note. Having therefore viewed the fortifications and prepared all things requiſite for ſtorming the place, he exhorted his men, 'to extermi-'nate that baſe and vagabond foe, never prepared

'for war, yet never diſpoſed to peace, but ſtill by 'flight confeſſing faithleſsneſs and cowardice; do 'this, ſaid he, and at once purſue a harveſt of ſpoil 'and glory.' He then diſtributed his forces into four diviſions; one he formed cloſe under their ſhields into the military ſhell, in order to overthrow the palliſade and undermine the rampart; others were ordered, by ladders to mount the walls, and a party to manage the engines, and thence annoy the fortreſs with ſhowers of darts and artificial fire. To the archers too and ſlingers a quarter was aſſigned whence they might from afar diſcharge volleys of ſtones and bullets. So that every part of the fortreſs being aſſailed, and the conſternation every where equal, no one quarter of the beſieged might be at leiſure to relieve another. All this was executed by the beſiegers with ſuch ſpirit and vigour, that in a few hours the defendants were entirely driven from the walls, the gates were forced, the bulwarks ſcaled, and all that were arrived to full age, put to the edge of the ſword, without the loſs of one of our men, and very few werewounded. The weak and mixt multitude were ſold by the public cryer, and to the conquerors remained all the reſt of the ſpoil. Equal ſucceſs attended the Lieutenant General and Camp Marſhal; in one day they took three caſtles by ſtorm, inſomuch that all the others, ſome from dread, others from the inclination of the inhabitants, ſurrendered. Such a ſeries of good fortune inſpired a reſolution, to attempt the ſiege of Artaxata, the capital of Armenia. The Legions were not however conducted thither the ſhorteſt road; for that, in paſſing the bridge over the Araxes, which waſhes the walls of the city, they would have been expoſed to be galled by the enemy. Fetching therefore a long circuit, they forded over upon the large ſhallows.

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As to Tiridates, he ſtruggled between ſhame and fear; if he gave way to the ſiege, it would appear that there was no reliance upon any relief or force from him; if he attempted to prevent it, he muſt be hemmed in with his cavalry in cloſe and intricate places. At laſt, he determined to ſhew himſelf in order of battle, and at break of day begin the onſet, or by a feigned flight try to draw the Romans into a ſnare. With great ſuddenneſs therefore he beſet them, but without any ſurprize to our General, who had formed his army as well for a fight as a march. On the right marched the third Legion, on the left the ſixth, and in the center a choſen detachment from the tenth; the baggage was ſecured between the ranks, and a thouſand horſe guarded the rear. Theſe laſt were ordered 'to repulſe the 'foe, if they made any cloſe attack, but, not to 'purſue them when they fled.' The foot archers and remainder of the horſe were placed on the wings, but the left was the moſt extended, and reached to the roots of the hills, that, if the enemy attempted an onſet there, he might be encountered at once by our front and by the heart of the army. Tiridates, on his ſide pickeered about, yet never approached within the throw of a dart, but now braving us with the countenance of an aſſailant, then aſſuming an air of diſmay, provoked us to looſen our ranks, that he might fall upon us when we were disjoyned. When he ſaw no unwary relaxation in our order, and that only one captain of horſe, who had adventured too raſhly, was by a volley of arrows ſlain, and by his fate had confirmed all the reſt in ſubmiſſion to diſcipline, he marched off at the cloſe of the evening.

Corbulo encamped upon the place, and, ſuppoſing that Tiridates had retired to Artaxata, was unreſolved whether he ſhould march thither the ſame night with his Legions unincumbered by baggage, and immediately inveſt it; but, upon tidings brought

him

him by his ſpies, that the King had undertakn a long rout; though it was uncertain whether towards the regions of Media or Albania, he waited for the morning, and diſpatched his troops lightly armed to beſet the city, and begin the ſtorm of the place by a diſtant attack. But the citizens voluntarily opening their gates, made an unreſerved ſurrender to the Romans; by this their perſons were ſecured. The city was fired, and laid level with the ground, for ſuch was the wide circuit of its walls, that, without a powerful garriſon, they could not be defended, nor were our forces ſufficiently large to fill the garriſon, and yet to proſecute the war; or, had it been left untouched and deſtitute of a guard, there had been no profit nor glory in having taken it. To this relation of the fall of the city is added a Phænomenon, which was deemed miraculous, as a ſignal ſent immediately from heaven, for that, while all the region round the walls and cloſe to them, was glorioufly irradiated by the ſun, the whole ſpace incompaſſed by them, was ſo ſuddenly darkened by a thick cloud, ſpangled with lightening and roaring with thunder, that it was believed the angry Gods, to ſatiate their vengeance, had conſigned that city to utter deſtruction.

For theſe proſperous exploits Nero was proclaimed *Imperator*, and, by decree of Senate, days of public devotion were appointed, with ſtatues of victory to the Prince, triumphal arches, and perpetuity of the Conſulſhip. It was moreover decreed, that the day when the city was won, the day when the news arrived at Rome, and the day that produced this decree, ſhould all be enrolled amongſt the annual feſtivals, with ſeveral other particulars of the ſame ſtamp, ſo much beyond all meaſure, that Caius Caſſius, though he had agreed to the former, yet argued here, ‘ That were every inſtance of ‘ public proſperity to be attended with public thanks- ‘ giving, the whole year would not afford days

enough

'enough for days of devotion; a juſt diſtribution 'ought therefore to be made between days of de- 'votion and days of buſineſs, in ſuch ſort that the 'worſhip of the Gods might be ſolemnized, with- 'out interfering with the ſecular buſineſs of men.'

Thereafter was impleaded a man, who had paſſed through various revolutions of life, and juſtly incurred much hatred, and many enmities; yet obnoxious as he was, his condemnation drew an imputation and blemiſh upon Seneca. It was Publius Suilius, he who, during the reign of Claudius, had borne ſuch terrible ſway, and exerciſed ſuch a venal ſpirit, and though now by the change of times, conſiderably ſunk, yet not ſo low as his enemies wiſhed. Beſides, he was one, who choſe rather to bear the character of a criminal, than deſcend to that of a ſupplicant. Hence the decree of Senate made at this time for the revival of the Cincian law, which ſubjected to penalties all thoſe who had pleaded for pay, was thought to have paſſed on purpoſe to ruin him. Nor did Suilius, on his part, ſpare to retort complaints and recriminations, but, vehement as he ever was in his temper, now too, extremely old, and thence indulging avowed freedom, upbraided Seneca, 'as an inveterate foe to all the 'friends of Claudius, during whoſe reign he had 'been juſtly doomed to exile; as one who, being 'himſelf converſant in ſtupid and inſignificant ſtudies, 'and in teaching ſcholars, was actuated by envy 'towards all ſuch, who in defending the rights 'of their fellow citizens, exerciſed vigorous elo- 'quence, free from pedantry and corruption. For 'himſelf; he had been Quæſtor to Germanicus, 'but Seneca the adulterer of Germanicus's 'daughter. Now, was it to be judged a more 'heinous offence, to purſue the advantages of a 'worthy vocation, by accepting a reward from a 'ſuitor, who freely gives it, than to contaminate 'the beds of Princeſſes? By what precepts of wiſ-

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'wiſdom, by what principles of philoſophy, had 'he, during four years of imperial favour, amaſſed 'a treaſure of more than ſeven millions? Through 'Rome he hunted after teſtaments and inheritances, 'the rich and childiſh were catched, as it were, in 'his net, and all Italy and the Provinces were, 'by his mighty and exceſſive uſury, exhauſted. But 'ſmall is my own wealth, and with induſtry ac-'quired; and upon the whole, I am determined 'rather to undergo the heavieſt proſecution, the 'ſevereſt ſentence and doom, and every degree of 'hardſhip and ſuffering, than debaſe a diſtinguiſhed 'reputation, the acquiſition of a long life, and bend 'to this ſudden ſon of felicity.'

There were ſome too, who failed not to relate to Seneca all theſe reproaches, in the ſame angry ſtrain, or in one ſtill more embittered. Accuſers, moreover, were found, who arraigned him, 'for 'his exceſſes in Aſia, when he ruled as Quæſtor 'there, for plundering the inhabitants, and robbing 'from the public revenue.' But, as a whole year was granted them for preparing their evidence, it was deemed a quicker expedient to proceed upon his enormities at Rome, of all which there were in ſtore ready witneſſes. By theſe it was urged, 'That 'by a virulent accuſation, he had driven Quintus 'Pomponius upon the neceſſity of raiſing a civil 'war; by him was procured the violent death of 'Poppæa Sabina, and of Julia the daughter of Dru-'ſus; of his framing was the doom of Valerius 'Aſiaticus, of Luſius Saturninus, and of Cornelius 'Lupus. Add to theſe, whole bands of Roman 'Knights, at his inſtigation condemned; with all 'the long train of cruelties during the reign of 'Claudius.' For upon Suilius they charged the whole. In his defence he began to alledge, 'That 'of all theſe accumulated proſecutions, he had of 'his own inclination engaged in none, but purely

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in obedience to the Prince.' But Nero checked this plea, and teſtified that, from the Memoirs of Claudius, he had found, that no accuſation whatſoever had ever been undertaken by compulſion from him. The accuſed then pleaded the uncontroulable orders of Meſſalina; an impotent defence! 'for why had 'no other advocates but only Suilius, been ſingled 'out, to have lent their eloquence for accompliſh-'ing the purpoſes of that bloody proſtitute? In 'truth, the miniſters and promoters of ſuch black 'deeds muſt be puniſhed, they who, having re-'ceived the wages of their iniquities, would upon 'others father the iniquities themſelves.' A part of his eſtate was therefore confiſcated; for to his ſon and grand-daughter the other part was granted, beſides that from the ſentence were alſo exempted the fortunes left them by the will of their mother, and that of their grand-father. He himſelf was baniſhed to the iſles Baleares; but, neither during the heat and peril of the proſecution, nor after his condemnation, was his ſpirit in the leaſt ſunk or diſmayed. He was even ſaid to have paſſed his ſolitary exile in a life of voluptuouſneſs and pleaſure. In hatred to him, Nerulinus his ſon was alſo arraigned, upon the crimes of public rapine; but Nero interpoſed, and alledged, that by the doom of the father, public vengeance was ſufficiently ſatiated.

About the ſame time Octavius Sagitta, Tribune of the people, intoxicated with a paſſion for Pontia, a married woman, gained her by vaſt preſents, firſt to conſent to the adultery, afterwards to quit her husband, engaging himſelf and her in a promiſe of marriage after the divorce. But the woman, when ſhe found herſelf ſingle, framed delays from time to time, pleaded the oppoſition of her father, and then, having diſcovered ſome hopes of a wealthier husband, quite renounced her engagement. Octavius failed not to combat this reſolution; one

moment broke into complaints, the next into menaces; he adjured her by the reputation which for her he had ſhipwrecked, by the wealth which upon her he had totally conſumed; laſtly, he told her, that his life and perſon was the only fortune left him, and of that too the diſpoſal lay wholly in her breaſt. At length, perceiving her deaf to all his reaſonings, he requeſted the conſolation of one parting night; for that thus calmed and gratified, he would thenceforth be able to govern his paſſion. The night was granted and named, and Pontia appointed a maid, her confident to ſecure the chamber. Sagitta brought with him one freedman, and a dagger concealed under his robe. The interview began, as uſual in combinations of love and anger, with a medley of chiding and beſeeching, of reproaches and ſubmiſſions; and part too of the night was devoted to joy and embraces. At laſt, he became enraged with expoſtulations and deſpair, and ſuddenly plunged his dagger into her heart, (free as ſhe was of all dread) beat down and wounded the maid, who was flying to her aſſiſtance, and burſt out of the chamber. Next day the murder was divulged; and, by what hand, was apparent, for it was proved they had lodged together; but the freedman adopted the guilt. He averred, that the aſſaſſination was of his own committing, to procure juſt vengeance to an injured maſter; and, by the exemplary greatneſs of ſuch behaviour, many were induced to believe him, till the maid, when ſhe was healed of her wound, fully diſcloſed the author, and all the particulars; ſo that the Tribune was arraigned before the Conſuls by the father of the deceaſed, and, at the expiration of his office, condemned by the Senate to the penalties of the Cornelian Law.

An inſtance of lewdneſs no leſs notorious, proved this year the ſource of heavy calamities to the Roman ſtate. In the city lived a daughter of Titus Ollius,

Ollius, but, as Poppæus Sabinus her mother's father, had ſhone in the Commonwealth, and from the Conſular dignity and glory of a triumph, acquired an illuſtrious name, from his ſhe took her own, that of Sabina Poppæa; for, Ollius, ere yet he had overtaken any public dignity, was ſwallowed up by the fatal friendſhip of Sejanus. This Lady poſſeſſed every ornament but that of a virtuous ſoul; for, from her mother, who in beauty had excelled all the women of her time, ſhe derived her lovelineſs, as well as the glory of deſcent; the luſtre of her birth was ſupported by proportionable wealth; her ſpeech was ſoft and engaging, her wit pertinent, modeſty the part ſhe perſonated, lewdneſs that ſhe practiſed. It was rare that ſhe appeared abroad, then too part of her face hid under her veil, the more to ſtimulate the curious beholders, or, perhaps, becauſe thus ſhe was ſtill more charming. By the awe of fame ſhe was never controuled; between husband and adulterer, ſhe made no diſtinction; by no man's paſſion was ſhe ever biaſſed, nor even by her own; wherever her intereſt appeared, thither ſhe transferred her lewd pleaſures. Hence, though ſhe was married to Rufius Criſpinus, a Roman Knight, and by him had brought forth a ſon, ſhe was carried away by the gay youth and profuſeneſs of Otho, eſpecially for that he was eſteemed to reign, beyond all others, in the affection of Nero, nor was it long ere this commerce of adultery was followed by their intermarriage.

It became now the ordinary language of Otho, to extol to the Prince the beauty and delicate charms of his wife, either, as he was prompted by the indiſcreet warmth of a lover, or deſigned to enflame Nero with the like paſſion, and from their common enjoyment of the ſame woman, hoped to find an additional ſupport to his preſent authority. It was uſual to hear him boaſt, as he roſe from the Em-

peror's table, 'That he now retired to the ſum 'of all nobleneſs and lovelineſs, her who was the 'centre of every joy and felicity, the deſire of all 'men, but happily his own peculiar lot.' After theſe and the like incitements, Nero deferred not long his own gratification; an interview was appointed, where Poppæa, at firſt, employed all her ſoft arts and careſſes, and by them intirely ſubdued him; ſhe feigned herſelf ſmitten with his fine perſon, and wholly overcome by her paſſion for him. But, when ſhe had worked up the Prince's affection to a pitch of impatience, ſhe changed her former behaviour into haughtineſs and deſpite. If ſhe were detained above a night or two, 'ſhe was a married woman, 'ſhe cried, nor could ſhe relinquiſh her husband, 'as to him ſhe was engaged by a way of living, 'which no other man could equal. Otho was mag-'nificent in his perſon, generous in his ſpirit; in 'him ſhe beheld every thing worthy the moſt ex-'alted fortune. Nero was attached to Acte, thence 'inured to the embraces of a ſlave, and could from 'a fellowſhip ſo wretched and ſervile, derive nothing 'but ſordidneſs and ſervility.' Upon this, Otho became degraded from his uſual intimacy with the Emperor, then debarred of all intercourſe, and even acceſs; and, at laſt, to prevent all his rival practices in Rome, was preferred to the government of Luſitania, a government which he adminiſtered, till the beginning of the civil wars, with eminent uprightneſs and honour, and wide of all the courſes of his former diſſolute life; a proof of his various character, that of an unbridled voluptuary in a private ſtation, in authority obſerving gravity, and juſt reſtraints.

Nero as yet endeavoured to find diſguiſes for his vileneſſes and crimes. He, whom of all others he apprehended moſt, was Cornelius Sylla, miſtaking the heavy ſpirit of the man for deep artifice and diſſimulation.

ſimulation. Theſe apprehenſions were inflamed by Graptus, a freedman of his, an ancient domeſtic of the court, ever ſince the reign of Tiberius, and being well practiſed in the dark devices of the Emperors, he, upon this occaſion, framed the following forgery. The Milvian Bridge was then the famous ſcene of nocturnal revellings, and thither Nero frequently reſorted, that there he might more licentiouſly riot without the city. Graptus therefore feigned, 'That a plot had been laid for him, as 'he ſhould return from thence by the Flaminian 'Way, but, by the benignity of fate, he had eſ-'caped it in coming home through the Gardens of 'Salluſt, and of this treaſon Sylla was the author.' The fact was, that as ſome of the Emperor's attendants were repairing back to the palace, certain young companions, indulging a ſort of licentiouſneſs then univerſally practiſed, had filled them with cauſeleſs fears. But, amongſt theſe companions not a ſlave of Sylla's was obſerved, nor one of his dependents; and for himſelf, his courage was ſo utterly deſpicable, and ſo unequal to any enterprize, that his very nature was repugnant to every attempt of treaſon. Nevertheleſs, as if he had been a traitor fully convicted, he was baniſhed his country, and confined within the walls of Marſeilles.

During the ſame Conſuls were heard the deputies from Puzzoli, ſome diſpatched by their Senate, others by the populace, the former inveighing againſt the violence of the multitude, the latter againſt the oppreſſion and avarice of the Magiſtrates and Nobles; and, as the ſedition was ſo violent, that the factious had already combated with ſtones, threatened the firing of houſes, and were betaking themſelves to arms and maſſacre; Caius Caſſius was appointed to apply a remedy; but, they could not bear the ſeverity of his proceedings; ſo that, at his own requeſt, that charge was transferred to the two bro-

thers Scribonii, aſſiſted by a Prætorian Cohort, by the terror of which and the execution of ſome few incendiaries, concord was reſtored amongſt the inhabitants.

The decree of Senate now made, for permitting the Syracuſians, in their ſhews of Gladiators, to exceed the number formerly limited, is a matter ſo common, that I ſhould not inſert it here, had not Pætus Thraſea oppoſed it, and thence adminiſtered to his revilers matter of invective. 'For, if he believed that the condition of the Commonwealth called upon the Senators to exert liberty of ſpeech, why were his cenſures and purſuits confined to things of ſuch trivial moment? How came it, that he ſtood not forth to adviſe or controul meaſures of war and peace, the adminiſtration of the revenue, that of the laws, and whatever elſe concerned the ſupport and governance of the Roman ſtate? To every Senator, as ſoon as inveſted with the privilege of voting, full freedom was allowed of propounding whatever he would, and of claiming that what he propounded might be put to the vote. Now, did nothing elſe in the ſtate want check or amendment, but only, that the ſpectacles at Syracuſe ſhould be exhibited with no enlargements? Was, in truth, all the reſt of the adminiſtration throughout the Empire, ſo excellent, as if by Thraſea himſelf, and not by Nero, it were ſwayed? But, if all theſe were paſſed over in profound diſſimulation, how much more reaſonably to be forborne were things utterly void of all uſe and ſignificancy?' To his friends, who aſked him the meaning of his conduct, Thraſea anſwered, 'That he had, from no ignorance in the ſituation of the public, interpoſed againſt a decree of that ſort, but in it conſulted the honour of the Senate, by making it appear, that an inſpection into the greateſt affairs was not like to be

'diſa-

'disavowed by those, who thus applied their thoughts
'to the most insignificant.'

In the same year, so importunate were the cries of the people against the exactions of the Tax-gatherers, that Nero was deliberating about the intire suppression of all taxes and duties, as the most illustrious bounty he could bestow upon human kind. But the Senate, after many high praises upon his greatness of soul, restrained his rash resolution, by apprizing him, 'That the dissolution of the Empire
'must ensue a reduction of the revenues which sus-
'tained it; and were the public duties once an-
'nulled, it would be a precedent for labouring the
'discharge of all the public tributes. The compa-
'nies for administering the taxes, were for the most
'part established by the Consuls and Tribunes, even
'then when popular liberty was in its prime at
'Rome, and the regulations which followed, were
'so concerted, that the public impositions might
'just ballance the public exigencies. But the ra-
'venous extortions of the publicans did, in truth,
'require to be stopped, that so the rates borne by
'the people for so many years without murmuring,
'might not be embittered by new grievances.'

The Emperor therefore by an edict ordained,
'That the laws of the revenue, which had till then
'been kept secret, should now be committed to
'the public Tables; the publicans should exact no
'claims for above a year backward; in all suits a-
'gainst them, the Prætor at Rome, and in the Pro-
'vinces, the Proprætor or Proconsul for the time
'being, should proceed to discretionary judgment;
'but to the soldiers should be reserved the usual
'exemption, in all instances save those of traffic;'
with other the like injunctions, which, being intirely equitable, were for some short time obeyed, but soon grew neglected and obsolete. The suppression, however, of the Quadragesima (fortieth penny) and

of the Quinquageſima (fiftieth) continues ſtill in force, as alſo that of other impoſitions with the like titles, invented by the publicans to cover their lawleſs exactions. Moreover, a regulation was made about the importation of grain from the provinces beyond ſea, and it was ordained that the ſhips of traders ſhould not be rated with the commodities which they carried, nor any duty be paid for the ſame.

Two men accuſed of male-adminiſtration in Africa, where they had both ruled as Proconſuls, were acquitted by the Emperor, Sulpicius Camernius, and Pomponius Silvanus. Againſt the former there appeared only a few private proſecutors, who charged him rather with particular acts of rage than thoſe of general rapine. But Silvanus was beſet with a mighty train of impleaders, who required time to procure their witneſſes, as did he to be inſtantly admitted to his defence; and, by being wealthy, ancient, and childleſs, prevailed, yet outlived and diſappointed thoſe who ſaved his life to merit his eſtate.

Till this time Germany had continued in a ſtate of tranquillity, ſecured by the temper of our commanders there, who, at a time when the honours of the triumph were ſo miſerably proſtituted, judged that higher glory was to be reaped by preſerving peace. Theſe commanders were Paullinus Pompeius, and Lucius Vetus. To keep, however, the ſoldiers employed, the former now perfected the damm which had been begun by Druſus threeſcore and three years before, to reſtrain the overflowing of the Rhine, while Vetus was digging a canal of communication between the Arar and Moſelle, that the armies from Italy, having ſailed by ſea into the Rhone, and thence into the Arar, might fall through this canal into the Moſelle, thence through the Rhine into the Ocean. So that, all impediments of the paſſage being thus removed, a naval intercourſe might

might be opened from West to North, between the two seas. But this great work was marred through the envy of Ælius Gracilis Lieutenant of Belgic Gaul, who warned Vetus against bringing his Legions into another man's province, and courting the affections of the Gauls, for that such conduct would alarm the Emperor; an apprehension which frequently serves to frustrate many worthy enterprizes.

But, from the continued inaction of both armies, a report spread, that their Generals were enjoyned not to lead them against the enemy. In confidence of this the Frisians possessed the forests and morasses with their youth, and carrying over the lakes all such as were weak through sex or age, placed them along the banks of the Rhine, then proceeded to settle themselves upon those tracts of land which being void of inhabitants, were appropriated to the uses of our soldiers. In this enterprize they were counselled and conducted by Verritus and Malorigis, who were sovereigns over this nation, as far as the Germans are wont to submit to sovereignty. They had already founded their dwellings, sown the fields, and were cultivating the lands, as if the same had been their native soil, when Dubius Avitus, who succeeded Paullinus in the province, threatened them with the vengeance of the Roman sword, unless they retired to their ancient territories, or obtained from the Emperor a new settlement. By these menaces he forced Verritus and Malorigis to the ways of supplication. On this negotiation therefore they proceeded to Rome, where, while they waited for access to Nero, who was engaged in other affairs, amongst the sights which are usually shewn to Barbarians, they were conducted into Pompey's Theatre, that they might there survey the multitude of the Roman people. Here, gazing round them, (no wise interrupted by the diversions of the stage

which they underſtood not) while they were intent upon the arrangement of the audience, and informing themſelves about the diſtribution of ranks, 'which were the Roman Knights, and where ſat 'the fathers of the Senate?' they ſpied certain perſons in a foreign habit, ſitting upon the benches of the Senators, and aſked who were theſe? When they had learnt that this was a diſtinction conferred upon the Ambaſſadors of ſuch nations as ſignalized themſelves by their merit and friendſhip towards the Romans; 'There is not amongſt men, they 'cried, that nation which, in good faith, and feats 'of arms, ſurpaſſes the Germans;' and thus, leaving their ſeats, placed themſelves among the Senators; a proceeding courteouſly taken by the ſpectators, as a ſlight of ancient liberty, and the effect of an honeſt emulation. Nero beſtowed upon both the privileges of Roman citizens, but ordered that the Friſians ſhould abandon their new poſſeſſions; and, as they refuſed to obey, they were forced, by a ſudden irruption of the auxiliary horſe, who put in bonds, or to the ſword, all who obſtinately reſiſted.

The Anſibarians too took poſſeſſion of the ſame lands, a more potent people, not in their own multitudes only, but alſo from the ſympathy of the neighbouring nations; for that they had been exterminated by the Chaucians, were deſtitute of all ſettlement, and, like exiles, beſought only a quiet ſhelter and retreat. They were likewiſe led by a man of ſignal renown amongſt theſe nations, and even of approved fidelity towards the Romans, his name Boiocalus, who, in behalf of himſelf and his people, upon this occaſion, alledged, 'That, 'upon the revolt of the Cheruſcans, he had been 'thrown into bonds by order of Arminius, after-'wards carried arms under Tiberius, then under 'Germanicus, and to the merit of fifty years ſervice

'and

'and adherence to the Romans, he was ſtill ready 'to add that of ſubmitting his people to their Em-'pire. Was not the territory in diſpute large and 'waſte? or reſerved for any other uſe than that of 'occaſional paſture for the ſoldiers cattle, and 'how ſmall a portion ſufficed for this? yet the 'Romans might ſtill, if they pleaſed, retain 'wide excluſive tracts, only for their beaſts to range 'in, although by feeding their beaſts they even 'famiſhed men; provided they did not wilfully de-'vote all the reſt to deſarts and ſolitude, rather than 'allow it for an habitation to a people diſpoſed to 'their friendſhip and alliance. The poſſeſſing of 'this territory was no new thing; formerly it was 'held by the Chamavians, next by the Tubantes, 'afterwards by the Uſipians. As the heavens were 'appropriated to the Gods, ſo was the earth to the 'children of men, and ſuch portions of it as none 'poſſeſſed, were free and common to all.' Here he lifted up his eyes to the ſun, and invoking, as if they had been preſent, that and the other cœleſtial luminaries, he aſked them, 'Could they bear to 'ſurvey a deſolate ſoil; or, would they not more 'juſtly let looſe the ſea to ſwallow up uſurpers, who 'thus engroſſed the earth?'

This language warmed Avitus, who replied, 'that to the orders of the moſt powerful, ſubmiſſion 'muſt always be paid, even the Gods to whom 'they now appealed, had ſo appointed, that to the 'Romans ſhould appertain the ſovereign judgment, 'what to beſtow and what to take away, and other 'judges than themſelves they would ſuffer none.' This was his public anſwer to the Anſibarians; but, to Boiocalus he privately promiſed, that in acknowledgment of his long attachment to the Romans, he ſhould have lands for himſelf aſſigned him, an offer which he conſidered as a price propoſed for betraying his people, and rejecting it with indigna-

tion, added, ‘ A place to live in we may want, but ‘ a place to die in we cannot.’ Thus they parted with animoſity on both ſides. The Anſibarians, to prepare for the impending war, invited into a confederacy the Bructerians, Tencterians, and even other nations more remote. Avitus too, after he had written to Curtilius Mancia, who commanded the upper army, to paſs the Rhine, and to appear with his forces upon their rear, marched himſelf with his Legions into the territories of the Tencterians, and threatened them with deſolation and ſlaughter, unleſs they departed from the league. Hence they were forced to acquieſce; and, as the like terrors awed the Bructerians, the reſt too relinquiſhed a hopeleſs cauſe, whence ruin to themſelves was threatened from their attachment to others. So that the forlorn Anſibarians retreated back to the Uſipians and Tubantes, but by them alſo were exterminated. They then withdrew for reception firſt to the Cattians, afterwards to the Cheruſcans, and, in theſe long and various wanderings from nation to nation, thus vagabond, indigent, and treated as enemies and intruders, all their youth fell by the ſword, and the promiſcuous multitude were utterly diſperſed according to the various lot of captivity.

Between the Hermundurians and the Cattians, during the ſame ſummer, a mighty battle was fought, about the propriety of a river, which divided their territories, and which yielding abundant ſtore of ſalt, each people was labouring by force to appropriate to themſelves. To this quarrel, beſides their paſſion for committing all diſputes to the deciſion of the ſword, they were further animated by an inherent ſuperſtition, ‘ that theſe places were ‘ doubtleſs in the neighbourhood of heaven, and no ‘ where quicker than there did the ſupplications of ‘ men reach the ears of the Gods. Hence, through ‘ a ſpecial indulgence of the Deities, in this river

and

'and in theſe groves, ſalt was produced, not, as 'with other nations, from the foam of the ſea cruſt-'ed upon the ſhore, but by pouring the water of 'this river upon flaming piles of wood, and thus 'condenſed by a combination of oppoſite elements.' The iſſue of the war was proſperous to the Hermundurians, and to the Cattians the more bloody and deſtructive, for that, preſuming upon victory, they had devoted the adverſe hoſt to Mars and Mercury, a vow, by which men and horſes, with whatever elſe appertains to the vanquiſhed, are doomed to be burnt or ſlain. Thus upon their own heads returned their cruel menaces againſt their foes.

The people Juhones, a ſtate in alliance with us, were at this time afflicted with a calamity altogether ſudden and alarming, by the eruption of a ſubterraneous fire, which caught and conſumed, on every ſide, their towns, farms, and particular dwellings, and was advancing with fury to the late-built walls of Cologn. Neither could it be extinguiſhed even by the falling of rain, nor by the throwing of water, or by any other uſual expedient, till certain boors, deſpairing of remedy, and enraged at the devouring conflagration, vented their wrath in attacking it at a diſtance with vollies of ſtones; as the flames came thus to abate, they proceeded to a cloſer approach, and, by dint of clubs and blows, as in an encounter with fierce beaſts, quite repulſed it. At length, utterly to ſmother it, they ſtripped themſelves of their cloaths, which the more ſoiled and worn they were, the more effectual they proved.

During the ſame year, the tree Ruminalis, ſtanding in the place aſſigned for the election of Magiſtrates, the ſame which after the birth of Romulus and Remus, had yielded ſhelter to theſe expoſed babes, eight hundred and forty years ago, began to decay with withered branches and a deadened trunk; a change which paſſed for an omen of evil portent, till it revived again into freſh bloſſoms and verdure.

THE

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XIV.

The SUMMARY.

Nero *hates and dreads his mother, and cauſes her to be murdered. He gives a falſe account of that murder to the Senate. What ſtrange applauſe he finds there, and his encouragement from thence to every exceſs and enormity. He drives chariots, nay, mounts the ſtage. Quinquennial games inſtituted, with popular obſervations upon that inſtitution. The brave conduct of* Corbulo *in Armenia; he takes Tigranocerta, and eſtabliſhes* Tigranes *King there. A great maſſacre of the Romans in Britain, during the abſence of* Suetonius Paullinus, *then employed in ſubduing the iſle of Angleſey. Thence the province almoſt loſt, but recovered again by the vigorous efforts of the Governor, and in one great combat. The Governor of Rome ſlain at home by one of his ſlaves; the reſt puniſhed. The law of Majeſty revived. The death of* Burrhus. *Attempts to ruin* Seneca; *who is aware of them, and ſues to be diſmiſſed,*

miſſed, but is refuſed. Tigellinus *his miſchievous credit with the Emperor*; *cauſes* Plautus *and* Sylla *to be killed.* Nero *diſmiſſes his wife* Octavia, *and marries* Poppæa. *Hence a popular tumult, which haſtens the murder of* Octavia.

DURING the Conſulſhip of Caius Vipſtanus and Caius Fonteius, Nero determined to accompliſh, without more delay, the parricide, which he had been long deviſing, as from the permanence of his power he was become reſolute and hardened, and his paſſion for Poppæa waxed daily more flaming. She too, who could never hope to ſee Octavia divorced, nor herſelf eſpouſed during the life of Agrippina, teaſed him with inceſſant reproaches, nay, ſometimes jeered him by the ſarcaſtical name of 'pupil, one blindly 'ſubject to the controulment of another, ſo far from 'being ſuffered to ſway the Empire, that he was 'not allowed even private liberty. For, upon what 'other motives could he delay to marry her? Had 'he any objections to her perſon and beauty, or to 'her blood and anceſtors, men of renown, diſtinguiſhed with triumphal honours? was he unſatisfied about the fruitfulneſs of her body, or the ſincere affections of her ſoul? No; the truth was, 'it was dreaded, that when ſhe was become his 'wife, ſhe would be laying open the grievances 'of the Senate, the reſentment of the people, againſt 'the pride and rapaciouſneſs of his mother. But, 'after all, if Agrippina would bear for a daughter-in-law, no other than one who would prove to 'her ſon a vexatious and malevolent wife, ſhe deſired to be reſtored again to the conjugal embraces of Otho; for, ſhe was ready and reſolved to 'withdraw to any quarter of the earth, there rather 'to hear of the Emperor's abaſement and reproach, 'than ſtay to behold it, and expoſe herſelf to a partner-

'nerſhip of the perils which ſurrounded him.' Theſe and the like expoſtulations, enforced with ſighs and tears, and all the ſoft artifices of the adultereſs, pierced the ſoul of Nero; nor did any one check their operation, as all earneſtly wiſhed to ſee the authority of Agrippina cruſhed, and as no mortal believed, that ever the ſon would wax ſo hardened in his hate as to ſpill the blood of his mother.

It is recorded by Cluvius, that ſuch was the flaming paſſion of Agrippina for retaining her wonted dominion, to ſuch extravagant lengths was ſhe tranſported, that often, in the face of the day, at a ſeaſon when Nero was heated with wine and banqueting, ſhe accoſted him, gayly attired, and, while he was thus drunk, ſtrove to prompt him to inceſt; that their obſcene kiſſes, geſtures, and other ſuch ſignals and incitements to that abomination, being well obſerved by thoſe who were preſent, Seneca, for an antidote againſt the enticements of one woman, had recourſe to another; hence Acte was introduced, a franchiſed Damſel, one who being equally anxious for her own danger and the infamy of Nero, warned him, that already the inceſt was every where publiſhed, and his mother gloried in the publication, and that the ſoldiery would never bear the rule of a Prince contaminated with ſuch unnatural pollution. Fabius Ruſticus aſcribes this ſtrange appetite not to Agrippina, but to Nero, and recounts that, by the cunning of the ſame Acte, he was weaned and reſcued. But, the detail given by Cluvius, is the ſame with that of the other writers, and on this ſide too is the teſtimony of popular fame; whether ſhe really nouriſhed in her heart an impurity ſo monſtrous, or whether the concerting of this unheard-of proſtitution appeared the more credible in her, who almoſt in her childhood had, from thirſt of dominion, conſented to be debauched by Lepidus, with the like ſpirit of power,

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abandoned herſelf to the luſt of Pallas, and, during her inceſtuous marriage with her uncle Claudius, had been practiſed in a courſe of wickedneſs of every kind and degree.

Thenceforth Nero began to avoid all private encounters with his mother, and, upon every occaſion of her retiring to any of her gardens out of Rome, or to her ſeats at Tuſculum or Antium, uſed to applaud her for thus employing her leiſure. At length, conſidering her as his dread and torment, whereever ſhe reſided, he aſſumed a reſolution to kill her, and was only in ſuſpence about the means, whether by poiſon or the ſword, or any other effectual violence. That of poiſon was preferred at firſt, but to adminiſter the ſame was difficult: if it were done at the Prince's table, its operatiou could never paſs for accidental death, ſince in the like manner Britannicus had already periſhed; to apply to her own domeſtics, appeared a great riſque, as ſhe was a woman who from her own long intimacy with frauds and blood, was wary and vigilant againſt all ſnares and circumvention, and moreover always ſecured herſelf by counter-poiſons againſt the efforts of poiſon. How to diſpatch her with the ſword, and yet cover the appearances of the execution, no one pretended to deviſe; it was feared too, that the orders would be rejected, to whomſoever they were given, for the perpetration of ſuch hideous iniquity. Here Anicetus proferred his ſervice and dexterity, a franchiſed ſlave, tutor to Nero in his infancy, but now Commander of the fleet which rode at Miſenum, one virulently hated by Agrippina, and with equal virulence hating her. He therefore explained, 'how 'a veſſel might be ſo contrived, that by the ſud-'den burſting of one particular quarter in the open 'ſea, ſhe might be overwhelmed, without the leaſt 'warning or apprehenſion. Nothing, he ſaid, was 'ſo fertile of diſaſters as the ſea, and, if ſhe were

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'thus diſpatched by ſhipwreck, who could be ſo in-
'jurious as to aſcribe the malignity of wind and
'waves to the malice and contrivance of men?
'moreover, the Prince would of courſe beſtow on
'his deceaſed mother, a temple and altars, and all
'other honours proper to create an oſtentation of
'filial grief and piety.'

Nero was pleaſed with the device, which was alſo favoured by the juncture of time, the Feſtival of Minerva, called *Quinquatrus*, which he was then celebrating at Baiæ. Thither he inticed his mother; for, he was frequently declaring, 'that the haſty
'humours of parents were to be borne withal, and,
'towards her it behoved him to ſuppreſs every ir-
'ritation of his own ſpirit;' as by ſuch declarations he meant to raiſe a general rumour of his own reconcilement to her, a rumour which he hoped would reach Agrippina and find credit with her, from the credulous genius of women, prone to believe whatever feeds their wiſhes and promiſes matter of joy. When ſhe approached, he met her upon the ſhore, (for ſhe came by ſea from Antium) preſented her his hand, and embraced her, then conducted her to Bauli, ſo the villa is called, which, lying between the Cape of Miſenum and the gulf of Baiæ, is waſhed by the ſea which winds round the point. Here, amongſt ſeveral other veſſels, there lay one more gaudy and ornamental than the reſt, as if, in this particular too, he meditated freſh honour to his mother; for, ſhe had been always wont to be carried in a galley with three banks of oars, rowed by mariners from the fleet. Moreover, the banquet to which ſhe was invited, was ſo timed, that under the dark ſhades of night the horrid execution might be covered. It was, however, apparent, that ſome body had betrayed the deſign, and that Agrippina, upon hearing the perfidious machination, though ſhe was doubtful whether ſhe ought

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to believe it, had yet choſen to be carried by land to Baiæ in a ſedan; but, upon her arrival there, the plauſible behaviour of Nero aſſwaged her fears; for, beſides placing her at table above him, treating her with all tenderneſs and careſſes, he amuſed her with great variety of converſation, now breaking out into ſallies of youthful frankneſs, then with an air compoſed and grave, diſcourſing of weighty affairs, and having thus drawn out the banquet into a great length, he attended her to the ſhore, there more ardently than before he kiſſed her eyes, kiſſed her boſom, and left it uncertain whether, by ſuch paſſionate behaviour, he only meant to complete this ſcene of diſſimulation, or whether the laſt ſight of a mother juſt going to periſh, really checked his ſpirit however ſavage.

The night proved clear, the ſtars ſhone in full luſtre, the ſea was ſmooth and calm; as if all this had been concerted by the providence of the Gods, for the more inconteſtable detection of the murder. Agrippina, of all her numerous domeſtics, was, when ſhe embarked, attended only by two, Crepereius Gallus, who ſtood by the ſteerage, and Acerronia, who, as her Lady repoſed, lay at her feet, and was recounting to her, with much joy the remorſe of her ſon, and the favour which by it he had regained from his mother: nor had the veſſel yet made much way, when ſuddenly upon a ſignal given, the deck over that quarter was looſened, and being purpoſely loaded with a great quantity of lead, ſunk violently down, and inſtantly cruſhed Crepereius to death. Agrippina and Acerronia were defended by the poſts of the bed, which happened to be too ſtrong to yield to the deſcending weight; neither did the ſtructure of the veſſel burſt, for, the mariners were all embarraſſed, and thoſe of them who were not entruſted with the fraud, obſtructed the meaſures of ſuch as were. The next expedient

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concerted by the latter was, to bear her down on one ſide, and ſo ſink her. But, neither amongſt theſe accomplices was there an inſtant concurrence in executing a project thus haſtily propoſed, and there were others at the ſame time ſtruggling contrariwiſe to preſerve her; hence it proceeded that ſhe was not ſwallowed up at once in the deep, but deſcended more leiſurely. Now Acerronia, while ſhe declared herſelf to be Acrippina, and called upon them paſſionately, to ſuccour and ſave the Prince's mother, was purſued with poles, and oars, and whatever other naval weapons came accidentally to hand, and ſo ſlain. Agrippina kept ſilence, and, being therefore the leſs known, eſcaped, with one wound however upon her ſhoulder. What with ſwimming, what with the aſſiſtance of ſome fiſherboats, which rowed out to ſuccour her, ſhe reached the lake Lucrinus, and was thence conducted to her own villa.

Here ſhe revolved upon her danger, that for this very end ſhe had been inveigled by the fraudulent letters of her ſon, for this treated by him with ſuch ſignal marks of honour, that the veſſel, even under the ſhelter of the ſhore, without the agitation of winds, without concuſſion from rocks, had yielded in its upper part, and tumbled down, like a frail ſtructure of earth. She conſidered the fate of Acerronia, miſtaken for herſelf and deſignedly ſlain, and ſhe beheld her own wound. From the whole however ſhe inferred that her only reſource againſt theſe black machinations was to act as if ſhe ſaw them not. With this view, ſhe diſpatched Agerinus her freedman to notify to her ſon, 'that through the 'benevolence of the Gods, and the auſpicious in-'fluence of his fortune, ſhe had eſcaped a grievous 'caſualty, but beſought him, that, however terri-'fied with the danger which had threatened his 'mother, he ſhould yet poſtpone the trouble of

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'viſiting her, for, what ſhe only needed at preſent 'was reſt.' In the mean while, counterfeiting perfect ſecurity and fearleſneſs, ſhe had medicines applied to her wound, and her body chafed and anointed; ſhe called too for the laſt will of Acerronia, and ordered all her effects to be regiſtered and ſealed up; in which proceeding only ſhe acted without counterfeiting.

As to Nero; while he was hourly expecting expreſſes, that the parricide was executed, tydings arrived, 'that ſhe had eſcaped only with a ſlight hurt, 'having ſo far felt the danger as to remain in no 'uncertainty who it was that ſought her life.' At this he became mortally ſtruck with diſmay, and ſwore in paſſionate terms, "that, without peradventure, ſhe would preſently be at hand, bent 'upon taking haſty vengeance, whether by arming 'the ſlaves, or by ſtirring up againſt him the rage 'of the ſoldiery, or by flying to the Senate and 'people, with a tragical repreſentation of the veſſel 'wrecked, herſelf wounded, her friends murdered, 'and her ſon the author of all. And againſt this 'menacing event, what reſource, what protection 'had he, unleſs ſome ſuch could be propoſed by 'Burrhus and Seneca?' For, the inſtant he received the news of the diſappointment, he had called for them both to conſult them; neither is it certain whether, before this, they were unacquainted with the conſpiracy. Upon this emergency, they both kept long ſilence, as they apprehended that it was in vain to perſuade him to drop the deſign, and perhaps believed it to be already puſhed ſo far, that unleſs Agrippina ſoon periſhed, Nero certainly muſt. At length, Seneca proved the more forward of the two; yet no further than to look at Burrhus, and ask, 'whether the orders for this execution were 'not to be truſted to the ſoldiery?' Burrhus anſwered, that 'the Prætorian guards were ſo zealouſly

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'attached to the whole family of the Cæſars, ſo fond
'in particular of the name and memory of Germa-
'nicus, that, againſt any deſcendent of his they
'could never be animated to aught that were cruel
'and bloody. It therefore behoved Anicetus to ac-
'quit himſelf of his engagement.' Neither did Anicetus pauſe one moment, but even demanded the office of completing the murder. Nero became revived with theſe words, and declaring himſelf to be that day preſented with the Empire, owned his franchiſed ſlave for the author of the mighty preſent, and urged him to diſpatch, leading with him for his aſſiſtance ſuch as were moſt prompt to obey. The freedman however, having heard that Argerinus was arrived from Agrippina, with the news of her diſaſter and eſcape, contrived a plot to turn the treaſon upon her; and therefore, as the other was delivering his meſſage, dropped a dagger between his legs, then, as if he had caught him in the terrible fact, called for irons to be inſtantly caſt upon him. By this fable, he purpoſed to ſupport another, by feigning that the deſtruction of the Prince had been concerted by his mother, and that being ſtruck with confuſion upon the diſcovery of her treaſon, ſhe had deſperately put an end to her own life.

During theſe tranſactions, while the danger which threatened Agrippina at ſea, flew abroad (for it was underſtood as the effect of chance) the people flocked impatiently to the ſhore, each as ſoon as he heard it. Some climbed up the mounds which ſhoot out into the ſea, ſome crowded into barks and skiffs, others entered the floods and waded as deep as their height would permit; nay, there were thoſe who ſtretched out their arms, as it were to catch and receive her; ſo that, with lamentations for her misfortune, with vows for her deliverance, and with the indiſtinct clamour of a multitude, many aſking different queſtions, or returning uncertain anſwers, the whole coaſt re-

reſounded. There ran, moreover, to the reſt a great crowd with lights in their hands, and, as ſoon as it was confirmed that Agrippina was out of danger, they were ſpeeding, with all zeal, to offer her their congratulations, till by the ſight and menaces of an armed band, they were terrified and diſperſed. Anicetus beſet the villa with a guard, and, burſting open the gates, ſeized and ſecured all ſuch of her ſlaves as appeared to ſtop him. He then advanced towards her chamber, where he found the door guarded by very few; all the reſt were ſcared away by the terror and violence of his entrance. In her chamber was a ſmall light, and only one of her Damſels. Agrippina too herſelf was more and more toſſed with anxious thoughts, that no ſoul had yet arrived from her ſon, nor had even Agerinus returned; ſhe perceived from without ſtrange viciſſitudes and an unuſual ſcene, the deſertion of her own people, and the ſudden violence and tumult of ſtrangers, with all the warnings of her laſt fate. Inſomuch that, ſeeing her maid too about to depart, ſhe ſaid, 'Thou 'likewiſe art going to abandon me;' and, that moment ſpied Anicetus, accompanied with Herculeus Captain of a galley, and Oloaritus a Centurion of the navy. She told him, 'If he came from the 'Emperor to be informed of her health, he ſhould 'acquaint him ſhe was well recovered; if upon 'any bloody deſign, ſhe would no wiſe believe him 'commiſſioned by her ſon; her ſon could never give 'unnatural orders for parricide.' The aſſaſſins having placed themſelves round her bed, the Captain was the firſt that wounded her, ſtriking her upon the head with a club; for, to the Centurion, as he was drawing his ſword to diſpatch her, ſhe preſented her belly, and with a loud voice, 'Strike 'thy ſword into my womb,' ſhe cried, and was inſtantly aſſaſſinated with a multitude of wounds.

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In theſe particulars authors are unanimous; but, that Nero afterwards ſurveyed the body of his murdered mother, and magnified its ſymmetry and loveline ſs, there are thoſe who have related, and thoſe who deny. That very night her corps was burned with ſordid obſequies, upon no other bed than ſuch as ſhe uſed to recline upon at meals. Neither, during the reign of Nero, were her relics repoſited, or covered with common earth, till afterwards from the benevolence of her domeſtics, ſhe received a ſlight and vulgar grave, upon the road to cape Miſenum, adjoying to a villa of Cæſar's the Dictator, which from its elevated ſituation overlooks the coaſt and bays below. Mneſter, a freedman of hers, as ſoon as her funeral fire was lighted, run himſelf through with a ſword, whether from affection for his Lady, or from dread of his own doom, is altogether uncertain. This violent end of Agrippina was foretold her many years before, and believed, and yet ſet at nought by her; for, as the Chaldæans, whom ſhe conſulted concerning the fortune of Nero, anſwered, that 'he would certainly reign, and cer-
'tainly kill his mother;' 'Let him kill me, ſaid ſhe,
'ſo he do but reign.'

The ſcene of this horrible iniquity being over, the Emperor became terribly ſtruck with its crying enormity, and for the reſt of the night was now dumb, motionleſs, with his eyes fixed, then ſtarted up, amazed, and trembling, and thus waited, in diſtractions of mind, the approach of day, a day from which he expected ſome direful doom. What firſt raiſed his aſſurance, was the flattery of the Tribunes and Centurions, who, at the inſtigation of Burrhus, graſped his hand, with congratulations, 'That he had thus eſcaped ſuch unforeſeen peril,
'and the mortal ſnares of his mother.' Next, his friends and intimates betook themſelves, with thankſgiving, to the ſeveral Temples; and the example being

being thus begun was followed by the adjacent town; and communities of Campania, who gave public teſtimonies of their joy, by ſacrifices to the Gods, and embaſſies to the Prince. For himſelf; his diſſimulation took a different turn from theirs. Sad and dejected was his mien, he ſeemed to hate a life thus ſaved, and bewailed with many tears, the death of his mother. However, as places cannot change their aſpect, like the ſupple countenances of men, and as the tragical proſpect of that deadly ſea and coaſt was inceſſantly reproaching him, (beſides there were thoſe who believed, that from the high cliffs round about they heard the ſhrill ſound of trumpets, and ſhrieks and wailings from Agrippina's grave) he withdrew to Naples, and there ſent letters to the Senate, of which theſe are the heads:

'That Agerinus, a freedman of Agrippina's, 'in intimate truſt with her, had been ſeized, ready 'armed to aſſaſſinate him; whence ſhe had undergone 'the pains of parricide, from the ſame guilty conſci-'ence that prompted her to contrive it.' To this he added a catalogue of her crimes, traced a long way backwards; how 'ſhe had aimed at a co-ordinate 'power in the Empire, with an oath from the Præ-'torian bands, an oath of allegiance to a woman, 'nay, to the abaſement of the Senate and people, 'had expected the like mark of ſubjection from 'them; and finding her ambition diſappointed, 'ſhe became enraged againſt the ſoldiery, againſt 'the fathers, and the populace, oppoſed a donative 'to the guards, and a largeſs to the people, and 'deviſed deſtruction againſt the illuſtrious chiefs of 'Rome. Nay, it was with great difficulty that he 'defeated her deſign of uſurping a ſeat in the Senate, 'and of returning anſwers to the Ambaſſadors of fo-'reign nations.' He even obliquely laſhed the tranſactions under Claudius, and caſt upon his mother all the acts of tyranny in that reign, aſcribing her fall

to the good fortune of the State; for he recounted the particulars of the ſhipwreck. But where lived there a ſoul ſo ſtupid to believe it to be the blind work of chance? or that a forlorn woman juſt ſaved from a wreck, ſhould employ a ſingle aſſaſſin, to break through an armed fleet and the imperial guards, and ſlay the Emperor? Hence it was not now upon Nero that the popular cenſure fell (for Nero's brutal barbarity ſurpaſſed all cenſure) but upon Seneca, for that, by ſuch a repreſentation to the Senate, he had in writing avowed the deed.

Wonderful, however, was the competition of the Grandees in decreeing the following ſolemnities; 'That at all the altars public devotions ſhould be 'performed; the feaſt of Minerva, during which the 'conſpiracy was detected, ſhould be celebrated with 'anniverſary plays for ever; in the Senate-houſe 'ſhould be placed the ſtatue of that Goddeſs in gold, 'and cloſe by her, that of the Emperor; and, in 'the liſt of unhallowed days, Agrippina's anniver-'ſary ſhould be inſerted.' Thraſea Petus, who was wont either to paſs over the like ſallies of ſervility in utter ſilence or with a ſhort word of aſſent, walked now out of the Senate, and thence awakened future vengeance againſt himſelf, and yet to the reſt opened no ſource of liberty. There happened, moreover, at the ſame time frequent prodigies, from which aroſe many prognoſtics, but no conſequences. One woman brought forth a ſerpent, another, in the embraces of her huſband was ſtruck dead with a thunder-bolt. The ſun became ſuddenly darkened, and the fourteen quarters of the city felt the effects of lightning. All which events came to paſs ſo apparently without any providential deſign in the Deities, that for many years after this, Nero continued ſafe in his ſovereignty and enormities. Now, in order to heighten the popular hate towards his mother, and withal to magnify his own clemency, as if the

ſame were enlarged now ſhe was removed, he reſtored to their native country and inheritance, Junia and Calpurnia, Ladies of illuſtrious quality, with Valerius Capito and Licinius Gabolus, men of Prætorian dignity, all formerly doomed to exile by Agrippina. He likewiſe permitted the remains of Lollia Paullina to be brought home, and a ſepulchre for them to be built. Iturius too and Calviſius, whom he had lately baniſhed, he now pardoned and releaſed; for Silana had already yielded to the lot of mortality at Tarentum, whither, from her remote baniſhment, ſhe had returned, either becauſe the authority of Agrippina, by whoſe enmity ſhe fell, was then declining, or her wrath by that time aſſwaged.

While Nero lingered in the towns of Campania, full of anxiety how to conduct himſelf upon his return to Rome, whether he ſhould find the Senate obſequious, or zeal in the people, his doubts were combated by all the profligates of the court (and no court upon earth abounded with more.) They argued 'that the very name of Agrippina was deteſted, 'inſomuch that by her death, the affections of the 'people were more powerfully kindled towards him. 'He ſhould therefore proceed confidently, and in 'perſon receive proofs of popular adoration.' As they demanded too, that, for trial, they might arrive ſomewhat before him, they found, in all reſpects, a more forward and officious zeal than they themſelves had promiſed, the ſeveral tribes, in diſtinct bodies, coming forth to meet him, as alſo the Senate in their robes of ſtate, with mighty droves of women and children, ranged in claſſes, according to their ſex and age; and all along where he was to paſs, a ſucceſſive variety of plays and ſhews, and ſcenes of public rejoycing, were prepared, with all the parade attending a triumph. Elated with ſuch reception, and as if crowned with victory from this

general ſervitude, he repaired to the Capitol, paid his vows and oblations, and thenceforth abandoned himſelf to the full bent of all his furious paſſions; for, though he had hitherto but poorly controuled them, yet his reverence to his mother, however weak it were, had till then checked their violence.

It was a uſual diverſion of his, and long allowed him, to drive a chariot drawn by four horſes; nor leſs ſcandalous was his paſſion for ſinging to the harp, as he was wont when he ſupped, in a theatrical geſture and habit: 'An employment, which he alledg-'ed to have been commonly practiſed by Kings 'and Heroes of old; that the ſame was celebrated 'in the ſongs of the poets, and even performed to 'the honour of the Gods; for, thus were muſic and 'ſinging ſacred to Apollo, and thus repreſent-'ed, with the ſame dreſs and inſtrument, not only 'in the cities of Greece, but even in the Roman 'Temples, ſtood that ſublime and oracular Deity.' Neither could this his bent be reſtrained. So that Seneca and Burrhus, leſt he ſhould have perſiſted in both, judged it adviſable to indulge him in one. Thus, a piece of ground, in the Vatican, was encloſed with a wall, that he might there exert his dexterity in racing and the diſcipline of ſteeds, without being expoſed as in a public ſhew, to the promiſcuous crowd. But, in a ſhort time, he even ſought to be publickly ſeen, and invited to the ſight the Roman populace, who failed not to magnify him with abundant encomiums; for the vulgar is ever longing after public diverſions, and ever delighted with the ſame inclination in the Prince. Moreover, ſuch open proſtitution and forfeiture of all ſhame did not, as his miniſters expected, produce in him any ſatiety, but contrariwiſe freſh eagerneſs. As he imagined too that, by bringing many under ſuch debaſement, he ſhould remove his own, he introduced, as actors, into the Theatre, ſeveral who

who were deſcended from illuſtrious families, but through indigence become venal, men whoſe names (as they are now no more) I repeat not with their ſtory; a conſideration which I judge due to the dignity of their anceſtors; ſeeing too, that upon his head the iniquities recoil, who, rather than they ſhould not tranſgreſs, gave them money for tranſgreſſing. He likewiſe engaged ſeveral Roman Knights (men well known) to undertake parts in theatrical repreſentations, by exceſſive rewards; unleſs it be thought that pay from one who has authority to command, carries with it the power of compulſion.

Nevertheleſs, that he might not as yet debaſe himſelf in the common Theatre, he inſtituted a ſort of plays called *Juvenales*; and, for celebrating theſe, names were given in from all quarters. Here no man's quality and blood, nor his age, nor the public figure and offices which any of them had borne, excuſed them from perſonating the port and buffoonry of the Greek and Roman mimics, even in the obſcene geſticulation of their bodies and the effeminate cadences of their voice. Even Ladies of illuſtrious quality came alſo to deviſe unſeemly revellings. So that, in the grove planted by Auguſtus round the lake where the naval combat was exhibited, tabernacles were erected and booths were built, where wine and dainties were expoſed to ſale, with whatever incites to ſenſuality and wantonneſs. To promote the debauch, money was given to the innocent as well as the voluptuous, to be waſted alike in riot, by the former from awe of Nero, by the latter from oſtentation of vice. From this ſource aroſe a monſtrous increaſe of all pollution and enormities; and though our manners had been long ſince corrupted, yet never were they more debauched and pervaded by any inundation of vice and depravity, than by this ſhocking ſink of lewdneſs. Modeſty is a thing hard to be ſecured even by the moſt vir-

tuous management and reſtraints; much leſs is modeſty, or chaſtity, or any honeſt endowment, to be preſerved amidſt ſcenes of impurity, where vices are engaged in a contention to outvie each other.

At length, Nero could forbear no longer, but mounted the Stage and took the harp, trying the ſtrings with awful attention, and ſtudying his part. About him ſtood his companions; a Cohort too of the guards were arrived, with many Tribunes and Centurions; as alſo Burrhus the Præfect, praiſing Nero and grieving for him. At this time likewiſe was firſt enrolled the body of Roman Knights entituled *Auguſtani*, young men diſtinguiſhed by the bloom of their years, and ſtrength of body, all profeſſed profligates, ſome from the bent of nature, the reſt in hopes of preferment. Theſe attended nights and days, wholly employed in clapping the Emperor, and ſounding his applauſes. They extolled his perſon and voice by epithets peculiar to the Gods; as if only from their zeal for virtue they ſought ſplendour and honour.

The Emperor, however, that he might not be only renowned for the accompliſhments of a player, ſtudied to excel alſo in Poetry, having drawn about him ſeveral who had a genius for poeſy, though not yet noted for their poems. Theſe were wont to ſit down in concert with the Prince, and connect together ſuch lines as they had ſeverally brought, or ſuch as they found already compoſed, piecing out with ſupplements of their own all his effuſions, however lame and crude. This is apparent from the very compoſition of theſe poems, which flow with no uniformity of ſtile or genius, like the productions of one man. He uſed, beſides, to beſtow ſome time after meals upon hearing the reaſonings of Philoſophers; and while each maintained his own ſect, and contradicted the reſt, they all expoſed their endleſs broils. Nay, ſome of them were

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fond of being ſeen, with their ſtern aſpect and accent, amidſt the Royal exceſſes and recreations of Nero.

About the ſame time, from a conteſt altogether trivial, there aroſe a horrid ſlaughter between two of our Italian Colonies, Nuceria and Pompeium, at the celebration of a combat of Gladiators exhibited by Livineius Regulus, whoſe expulſion from the Senate I have before recounted. Now, as they teaſed and rallied each other with the uſual gibes and petulance of citizens, they proceeded to bitterneſs and invectives, then to rage and vollies of ſtones, at length to a general encounter at arms. But to the Pompeian populace, who were the more powerful, the victory remained, as in their territory too the revel was exhibited. Hence, numbers of thoſe of Nuceria were borne to Rome, with mangled and mutilated bodies; and many arrived there with complaints and wailings, ſome for the death of their ſons, ſome for that of their fathers. The cognizance of this affair was by the Prince left to the Senate, by them to the Conſuls, but returned again before the fathers, who by a decree diſabled the Pompeians from meeting in any ſuch popular concourſe for ten years, and diſſolved for ever the fraternities which they had inſtituted againſt the Law. Livineius and the other incendiaries of the riot were doomed to exile.

Pedius Blæſus was alſo puniſhed with expulſion from the Senate, at the ſuit of the Cyrenians, who urged that he had robbed the treaſure of Æſculapius, and in the enrolling of ſoldiers, had been governed by price and popularity. The ſame Cyrenians brought a charge againſt Acilius Strabo, one who had been inveſted with the Prætorian power, and ſent as an arbitrator from the Emperor Claudius to adjuſt and diſcriminate the territories formerly held by King Apion, and by him bequeathed, together with his

whole Kingdom, to the Roman people; for that the ſame had been uſurped on every ſide by the borderers, who having thus enjoyed them a long while, derived a claim of right from encroachment and iniquity. Strabo, therefore, having adjudged the lands to the Romans and expulſed the invaders, much matter of popular hate againſt the arbitrator was thence adminiſtered to the Cyrenians. In anſwer to the charge the Senate ſaid, 'That to them 'the tenor of his commiſſion from Claudius was 'unknown, and they muſt conſult the Prince.' Nero approved the arbitration of Strabo, but wrote back, 'That he would nevertheleſs relieve our confede-'rates the Cyrenians, and yield them up the uſurp-'ed poſſeſſions.'

Thereafter followed the deaths of theſe illuſtrious Romans, Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius, men, who, for the ſublime dignities of the ſtate, which they had ſwayed, and for their own abounding eloquence, had flouriſhed in ſignal credit. The firſt was renowned for a powerful Pleader, Servilius too for his long ſucceſs at the bar, and afterwards for the Hiſtory by him compiled of the Roman affairs, as alſo for the elegance and probity of his life, which received freſh luſtre from the oppoſite behaviour of Afer, who in parts and genius was his equal, but far different in life and manners.

During the fourth Conſulſhip of Nero with Cornelius Coſſus for his collegue, Quinquennial Games were inſtituted at Rome, after the faſhion of the prize-matches amongſt the Greeks, and, like almoſt all new inſtitutions, were variouſly repreſented. Some alledged, 'That Pompey too was cenſured 'by our anceſtors, for having founded a permanent 'Theatre: till then, the public ſports were wont 'to be exhibited from ſcenes occaſionally erected 'for the ſolemnity, to laſt no longer, and to be 'ſeen from ſeats ſuddenly reared; or, if times more

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'remote were conſulted, the people would be found
'to have then beheld ſuch repreſentations ſtanding,
'leſt, had they been indulged with ſeats, they might
'have conſumed whole days in amuſements of the
'theatre. In truth, the primitive rule in repreſent-
'ing popular ſhews would be preſerved, were the
'ſame ſtill exhibited by the Prætors, and no Roman
'citizen whatever compelled to enter the public
'liſts. But, now, the ancient uſages of our coun-
'try, which had been long decaying piece-meal,
'were utterly obliterated by the prevalence of fo-
'reign ſports and gratifications. Inſomuch that at
'Rome might be ſeen, from all quarters, whatever
'was capable of being corrupted or of propagating
'corruption; the Roman youth deviated into fo-
'reign ſtudies, frequented common wreſtling-ſchools,
'indulged ſloth and purſued unnatural amours, ſince
'they were influenced by the example and ſupreme
'direction of Prince and Senate, who not only
'granted licence to a torrent of vice, but promot-
'ed it by authority and coercion. Romans of the
'firſt rank, under colour of rehearſing their poems
'and harangues, defiled themſelves with the prac-
'tice of the ſtage. What remained further, un-
'leſs they ſtripped themſelves naked, and commenc-
'ing fencers, wielded the whirlebat, and, for mi-
'litary glory and arms, ſtudied theſe theatrical ſkir-
'miſhes for pay? Would the bands of Roman
'Knights, would thoſe entituled *Auguſtani*, more
'worthily fulfil their high office of judicature, by
'a nice ear in the modulations of muſic, and by
'applauding the ſoft ſhakes and thrills of Nero's
'throat? Nights as well as days were beſtowed
'upon the infamous revel, that no portion of time
'might remain, for ſkreening modeſty and ſhame;
'but, in that huge aſſembly, blended at random,
'every libertine might dare to gratify by night what-
'ever his concupiſcence prompted him to by day.'

Many others were even well pleaſed with this diſſolute paſtime, but diſguiſed it however under venerable names. ‘ Our anceſtors too, they alledged, ‘ had not abſtained from the divertiſement of public ‘ repreſentations, which were exhibited in a manner ‘ ſuitable to the fortune and revenue of that time. ‘ Thus from Tuſcany they procured players, from ‘ Thurium the diverſion of racing; and after the ‘ conqueſt of Greece and Aſia, the Roman ſports ‘ were ſolemnized with greater elegance and accu- ‘ racy. Yet, in a courſe of two hundred years, ‘ ever ſince the triumph of Lucius Mummius, who ‘ firſt preſented the Romans with theſe foreign ſhews, ‘ no Roman of ingenuous birth had debaſed himſelf ‘ to the buſineſs of the ſtage. Nay, public frugali- ‘ ty too had been conſulted, by rearing a ſtanding ‘ Theatre, much more than by erecting a great oc- ‘ caſional edifice, at an immenſe expence, every ‘ year. Neither had the magiſtrates occaſion, ‘ henceforth, to exhauſt their private fortune, nor ‘ the people to importune the Magiſtrates for ‘ the exhibition of the prize-combats of Greece, ‘ ſince by the Commonwealth all the expence was ‘ defrayed. Moreover, the prizes then gained by ‘ Poets and Orators, would prove incentives to the ‘ cultivation of genius: nor to any one of thoſe ‘ who ſat judges there, could it prove irkſome to ‘ lend his ear to the rehearſal of generous produc- ‘ tions, and to recreations altogether lawful. A few ‘ nights ſpent upon this ſolemnity once in the courſe ‘ of five years, were rather aſſigned to diverſion, ‘ than to lewdneſs, during ſuch a copious blaze of ‘ lights, that no ſally of iniquity could poſſibly be ‘ concealed.’ It is very true, that this revel eſcaped free from any ſignal act of diſhonour; moreover, the popular contention and zeal for the ſeveral actors, was ſo moderate that it produced no ſort of uproar. For, though the Pantomimes were again reſtored to the ſtage, they were reſtrained from the cele-

celebration of games which were held ſacred. The prize of eloquence was borne away by none, but the victory was adjudged to Nero. The Grecian garb, worn at ſuch ſolemnities by many, and generally railed at, waxed now into diſuſe.

During theſe tranſactions, a Comet blazed, a phenomenon which, according to the perſuaſion of the vulgar, always portends a change of Kings. Hence, as if Nero had been already depoſed, it became the topic of general inquiry, who ſhould be choſen to ſucceed him, and, by the univerſal voice on this occaſion, the name of Rubellius Plautus was reſounded, one who by his mother inherited the nobility of the Julian race. He himſelf obſerved the reverend manners of our anceſtors, ſevere in his dreſs, his houſe virtuous, regular, and devoted to retirement. But, the more retired his apprehenſions made him to be, the higher renown he acquired. The rumour was heightened by a flaſh of lightning, which was expounded with the like credulity and folly. For, as Nero ſat at meat in a villa called Sublaqueum, upon the banks of the Simbruine Lakes, lightning darted upon the repaſt, ſcattered the diſhes, and overthrew the table; and as this caſualty happened in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, from whence Plautus by his father's ſide originally ſprang, the people believed him the man deſtined to Empire by the Deities. He was likewiſe favoured by many ſuch whoſe ambition always hurrying, and for the moſt part deceiving them, engages them in novel purſuits fraught with ambiguity and danger. All this alarmed Nero, who therefore ſignified to Plautus by a letter, 'That he would do well to 'conſult the tranquillity of Rome, and withdraw 'himſelf from the reach of thoſe who malignantly 'defamed him. In Aſia he had ancient poſſeſſions, 'where he might enjoy the bloom of his life, free 'from all peril and the embroilments of ſtate.' Upon this warning, he retired thither, with Antiſtia his

wife and a few friends. In the courſe of theſe days, the inordinate propenſity of Nero to unbounded voluptuouſneſs involved him in much danger and infamy; for, as he would needs ſwim in the ſource of the aqueduct which ſupplies the city, and derives its name from (Ancus) Marcius, the founder, it was conſtrued, that he had with an impure body polluted the ſacred ſtream, and profaned the ſanctity of the place; and a dangerous malady immediately enſuing, aſcertained the reſentment of the Deities.

Now, Corbulo judged it proper, after the demolition of Artaxata, to improve the reigning terror, and to ſeize Tigranocerta; for that, having once taken it, whether he were to raze it or ſave it, he ſhould either infuſe freſh dread into the foe, or fill them with the fame of his clemency. Thus he marched towards it, but committed no hoſtilities, leſt he ſhould baniſh all hopes of pardon, nor yet receded from his uſual diſcipline, as he knew it to be a nation addicted to ſudden changes; and, as in encountering dangers, dull and ſpiritleſs; ſo, in feats of perfidiouſneſs, dexterous and vigilant. The Barbarians took various courſes, according to their ſeveral humours. Some met him as ſupplicants; others abandoned their dwellings, and betook themſelves to the receſſes of the deſart; ſeveral crept into caves, accompanied with whatever was deareſt to them. The methods therefore taken by the Roman General were various as the occaſion; to the ſupplicants he extended mercy; after the fugitives he ordered quick purſuits. But towards thoſe who had hid themſelves in dens, he was rigorouſly ſevere; for, with faggots and bruſhes he filled the mouths and iſſues of the caverns, and ſet the ſame on fire. Then continuing his march along the confines of the Mardians, he was inſulted by the prædatory bands of that people, exerciſed in continual robberies, and protected by their wild mountains againſt reprizals and invaſions. But Corbulo, by pouring in the Hibe-

Hiberians upon them, expoſed them to devaſtation and ſword, and took vengeance of their inſolent hoſtilities, at the expence of the blood of foreigners.

But, though neither he, nor his army, was any wiſe impaired by fighting, they were both ſpent with continued travel and want, and reduced to combat hunger with the uſe of fleſh alone. Add to theſe diſtreſſes, a ſcorching ſummer, extreme ſcarcity of water, mighty marches; evils which were extenuated only by the exemplary patience of the General, who underwent more hardſhips than any common ſoldier. Thence they arrived in places that were cultivated, where the ripened harveſt furniſhed grain for bread; and, as here ſtood two caſtles whither the Armenians had flocked for ſanctuary, one was taken at once by ſtorm; the other, having repulſed the firſt onſet, was by a ſiege compelled to ſurrender. Corbulo paſſed next to the country of the Taurantes, where he eſcaped a ſudden and threatening danger; for hard by his pavilion a Barbarian, armed with a dagger, was apprehended, one of no mean degree, who, upon the rack, unfolded the order of the conſpiracy, owned himſelf the contriver, and diſcovered his aſſociates, who, being all convicted, ſuffered the juſt doom of traitors, ſuch who under the ſacred name and profeſſion of peace and friendſhip, were meditating guile and blood. Not long after, the Ambaſſadors by him ſent forward to Tigranocerta, returned with tidings, that the inhabitants were bent upon ſubmitting to the Roman authority, and their gates ſtood open to receive the Roman army. At the ſame time they preſented him from the city with a golden crown, as a token of hoſpitality and friendly reception; an acknowledgment which he accepted with all marks of honour, and in no one inſtance infringed the property or privileges of the town, that thence they might perſevere in their allegiance, being left in full enjoyment of their eſtate.

But,

But the Royal citadel, which was garriſoned by a band of young men of reſolute valour, was not maſtered without blows. They even ventured upon a ſally, and joining battle without the walls, were beaten back into their fortification, whither, as our men forced an entrance after them, they were obliged at laſt to yield to the arms of the aſſailants. Theſe enterprizes were the more eaſily accompliſhed, for that the Parthians were engaged the while in a war with the Hyrcanians, a people who had already ſent an embaſſy to the Roman Emperor, to entreat his alliance, repreſenting it as a pledge of their friendſhip to Rome, that they had thus diverted the power of Vologeſes. As theſe Ambaſſaders were returning that they might not, by croſſing the Euphrates, be intercepted by the ſtationary guards of the enemy, Corbulo furniſhed them with a convoy of ſoldiers, who conducted them as far as the coaſt of the Perſian gulf, from whence, without touching the bounds of Parthia, they returned in ſafety to their native homes.

Moreover, as Tiridates had paſſed through Media, and thence invaded the extreme parts of Armenia, Corbulo, having ſent forward Verulanus his Lieutenant General, with the auxiliary troops, advanced himſelf at the head of the Legions lightly equipped, and conſtraining the invader to retire quite away from that Kingdom, deprived him of all hopes from purſuing the war: having likewiſe laid waſte, with fire and ſlaughter, all thoſe quarters which he had learnt were zealous for that King, and therefore diſaffected to us, he had already aſſumed the complete poſſeſſion and government of all Armenia, when Tigranes arrived, a Prince preferred by Nero to that crown. He was a Cappadocian, nobly deſcended, and grandſon to King Archelaus; but from the former lot of his life, having paſſed many years at Rome in the quality of a hoſtage, his ſpirit was miſerably debaſed, even to a degree of abjectneſs and ſervility: neither was he

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now received into the ſovereignty with general unanimity, as amongſt ſeveral there ſtill remained a laſting affection for the family of the Arſacides. However, as there were many who abominated the pride of the Parthians, they preferred the accepting of a King from the hands of the Romans. Upon the new Monarch too was beſtowed a body of guards, namely, a thouſand legionary ſoldiers, three Cohorts detached from our confederates, and two wings of horſe, to ſupport him in maintaining his new realm. Several portions, beſides, of Armenia, were ſubjected to the neighbouring Kings, to Pharaſmanes, to Polemon, Ariſtobulus and Antiochus, according to the contiguity of the ſame to their reſpective dominions. Corbulo having compleated this ſettlement, withdrew into Syria, a province aſſigned to him, upon the death of Vinidius, the late Governor.

The ſame year, Laodicea, one of the capital cities of Aſia, having been overthrown by an earthquake, roſe again, by her own ability and means, into her former luſtre, unaſſiſted by any aid from us. But, in Italy, the ancient city of Puzzoli obtained from Nero the prerogative and title of a Colony. All the Veterans then diſmiſſed were ingrafted amongſt the inhabitants of Tarentum and Antium, yet cured not the defect and thinneſs of people there; for, many of theſe new-comers ſtraggled away to their old haunts in the provinces, where, during their term of ſervice, they had quartered: being, beſides, never accuſtomed to engage in wedlock, or to rear children, they lived without families, and died without poſterity. For, Colonies were not now eſtabliſhed as of old, when intire Legions were tranſplanted thither, with their Officers, Tribunes and Centurions, and all the ſoldiers in their diſtinct claſſes; ſo as they might from ancient acquaintance and unanimity, fall naturally into the form of a Commonweal; but, a medly of men,

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not known to each other, now thrown together, without any ruler to manage them, without mutual affection to unite them, and all detached from different companies, like ſo many individuals ſuddenly amaſſed from ſo many different races of men, were rather a crowd than a Colony.

The election of Prætors followed, a tranſaction wont to be ſubject to the pleaſure of the Senate; but as this proceeded with unuſual vehemence and caballing, the Prince ſettled the contention, by preferring to the command of a Legion the three candidates who exceeded the ſtated number. He alſo exalted the dignity of the Fathers, by ordaining, that, 'whoever ſhould appeal from the ſtated judges 'to the Senate, ſhould be expoſed to the hazard 'of forfeiting the ſame ſum of money as did thoſe 'who appealed to the Emperor.' For, hitherto this was left at large and free from all penalty. At the cloſe of the year Vibius Secundus, a Roman Knight, was, upon the accuſation of the Moors, condemned for public extortion, and expelled Italy; for he eſcaped a ſeverer doom by the prevailing credit and opulence of Vibius Criſpus, his brother.

During the Conſulſhip of Cæſonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus, we ſuffered a cruel ſlaughter in Britain. In truth, as Avitus the Governor had done no more there than (what I have already obſerved) juſt maintained our former conqueſts, ſo his ſucceſſor Veranius, having only in ſome light incurſions ravaged the territories of the Silures, was intercepted by death from any further proſecution of the war; a man indeed of high reputation during his life, for ſevere virtue and manners; but by the ſtile of his laſt will, his ſervile ambition and court to power, became notorious; for, after manifold flatteries beſtowed upon Nero, he added, 'that he 'ſhould have completely ſubjected That province 'to his obedience, had his own life been prolong-'ed for two years.' After him, Suetonius Paulinus ob-

obtained the government of Britain, a competitor with Corbulo, in the ſcience of war, and in the voice of the populace, who to every man of renown are ſure to create a rival. He hoped too, by ſubduing that fierce enemy, to reap equal glory to that which the other derived from the recovery of Armenia. He therefore prepared to fall upon the iſle of Angleſey, powerful in inhabitants, and a common refuge to the revolters and fugitives. He built, for that end, boats with broad flat bottoms, the eaſier to approach a ſhore full of ſhallows and uncertain landings; upon theſe the foot were embarked; the horſe followed partly by fording, partly by ſwimming.

On the oppoſite ſhore ſtood the enemy's army, compact with men and arms: amongſt them were women running franticly to and fro, reſembling the wild tranſports of furies; diſmally clad in funeral apparel, their hair diſheveled, and torches in their hands. Round the hoſt alſo appeared their Prieſts the Druids, with their hands lifted up to heaven, uttering bitter and direful imprecations; and from the ſtrangeneſs of the ſpectacle, ſtruck the ſpirit of the Roman ſoldiers with great diſmay; inſomuch that, as if all their limbs had been benumbed, they ſtood motionleſs, with their bodies expoſed, like marks, to wounds and darts, till, by the repeated exhortations of the General, as well as by mutual incitements from one another, they were at laſt rouſed to ſhake off the ſcandalous terror inſpired by a band of raving women, and fanatic prieſts; and thus advancing their enſigns, they diſcomfited all that reſiſted, and involved them in their own fires. A garriſon was thereafter eſtabliſhed over the vanquiſhed, and the groves cut down by them dedicated to deteſtable ſuperſtitions; for there they ſacrificed captives, and, in order to diſcover the will of the Gods, conſulted the entrails of men;

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practices of cruelty by them accounted holy. While Suetonius was thus employed, tydings were brought him of the ſudden revolt of the Province.

Praſutagus, the late King of the Icenians, a Prince long renowned for his opulence and grandeur, had by will left the Emperor joint heir with his own two daughters; as by ſuch a ſignal inſtance of loyalty, he judged he ſhould purchaſe a ſure protection to his Kingdom and family, againſt all injury and violence. A ſcheme which produced an effect ſo intirely contrary, that his realm was ravaged by the Centurions, and his houſe by ſlaves; as if both his houſe and realm had been the juſt ſpoils of war. Firſt of all Boudicea his wife underwent the ignominious violence of ſtripes, and his daughters that of conſtupration; and, as though the entire region had been bequeathed to the plunderers, all the principal Icenians were ſpoiled of their ancient poſſeſſions, and the Royal relations of the late King, were kept and treated as ſlaves. Enraged by all this contumelious tyranny, and dreading oppreſſions ſtill more ſevere, ſince they were thus reduced into a province; they flew unanimouſly to arms, having animated the Trinobantes to join in the revolt, as well as all others who were not yet broken by the yoke of ſervitude, and had ſecretly conſpired to recover their original liberty. Their moſt implacable enmity was towards the Veterans, lately tranſlated to the Colony of Camalodunum; for, theſe new gueſts had thruſt them out of their houſes, exterminated them from their native lands, and treated them with the vile titles of captives and ſlaves. Theſe outrages too of the Veterans, were abetted by the common ſoldiers, from their ſimilitude of life and inclination, and in hopes of enjoying the ſame licentious ſituation. Moreover, the Temple built and dedicated to the deified Claudius, was by them regarded as the bulwark of a domination eſtabliſhed over them without

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end. Beſides that the Prieſts, culled out for miniſtring in the Temple, under the cloak of Religion, devoured their whole ſubſtance. Neither did it appear an arduous undertaking to extirpate a Colony no wiſe ſecured by fortifications; a proviſion little minded by our Commanders, who had conſulted accommodation and pleaſure antecedently to advantage and ſecurity.

During theſe tranſactions, the Statue of victory at Camalodunum, without any viſible violence, tumbled down with her face turned round; as if by it ſhe betokened her yielding to the enemy. There were women too who, tranſported with oracular fury, chanted deſtruction to be at hand. In the place where they aſſembled for the buſineſs of the public, the accent and tumultuous murmurs of ſtrangers were heard; their Theatre ecchoed with diſmal howlings, and, in the lakes formed by the tides reſifting the Thames, a repreſentation was ſeen of a Colony overthrown. The ſea too appeared all dyed with blood, and at the departure of the tide, phantoms of human bodies appeared left behind upon the ſtrand. From which omens, as the Britons derived matter of hope and joy, ſo did the Veterans matter of heavineſs and fear. But, becauſe Suetonius was at a great diſtance, they ſought ſuccours from Catus Decianus, Procurator of the province, who yet ſent them no more than two hundred men, nor theſe completely armed; and, in the Colony itſelf, was but a ſmall handful of ſoldiers. The Veterans not only relied upon the ſhelter and ſtrength of the Temple, but were fruſtrated in their meaſures by ſuch as were ſecret accomplices in the revolt; hence they had neither ſecured themſelves by a ditch or palliſade, nor removed their women and old men, reſerving only thoſe of youth and vigour for their defence. So that, utterly unprepared, and as void of circumſpection as if full peace had reigned, they were beſet and cut off

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by a vaſt hoſt of Barbarians. In truth, every thing in the Colony yielded to inſtant violence, and was razed or burnt; only the Temple, whither the ſoldiers were retired in a body, ſtood a two days ſiege, and was then taken by ſtorm. Moreover, Petilius Cerialis, Commander of the ninth Legion, as he advanced to relieve his friends, was met and encountered by the victorious Britons, his Legion routed, and all his infantry ſlain. Cerialis, with the horſe, eſcaped to the Camp, and there defended himſelf in his entrenchments. Catus the Procurator, terrified with this ruin and ſlaughter, and with the univerſal hate of the province, which by his rapacious avarice he had driven into hoſtility, fled over into Gaul.

But Suetonius, with marvellous bravery, marched through the heart of the enemy quite to London, a city in truth not diſtinguiſhed with the title of a Colony, but highly famed for the vaſt conflux of traders, and her abundant commerce and plenty. Here he was deliberating about ſettling his head quarters in this place, and chuſing it for the ſeat and centre of the war; but, reflecting upon the thin number of his ſoldiers, and well warned by the temerity of Petilius ſo ſignally chaſtized, he reſolved to abandon it, and, with the loſs of one town, to ſave the whole province. Nor could the tears and wailings of numbers imploring his protection, divert him from ordering the ſignal for departure to be ſounded. Into part of his forces he aſſumed all thoſe who would accompany him; whoever ſtaid behind, whether detained by the weakneſs of their ſex, by the unweildineſs of old age, or by the charms of the place, fell, without exception, by the rage of the enemy. The like ſlaughter befell the municipal city of Verulamium. For, the Barbarians, who were charmed with plunder, but cold and daſtardly in other exploits of war, omitted to attack forts and garriſons; but, where-ever there was abundant

booty,

booty, eaſy to be ſeized by the ſpoiler, dangerous to be defended by the owner, thither they carried their animoſity and arms. In the ſeveral places which I have mentioned, it appeared that ſeventy thouſand ſouls had periſhed, all Romans, or the confederates of Rome. For, the enemy neither made, nor ſold, nor exchanged priſoners, nor obſerved any other law of war; but upon all exerciſed mortal fury, by preſent killing, gibbetting, burning and crucifying, with the deſperate eagerneſs and precipitation of men, who were ſure of undergoing a terrible doom, and reſolved, by anticipated vengeance, to ſpill the blood of others before their own were ſpilt.

Suetonius had already an army of nigh ten thouſand men; namely, the fourteenth Legion, with the Veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries from the quarters next adjoining; ſo that relinquiſhing all further delay, he prepared for encountring the enemy in battle, and choſe a place which ſtretched out before into a hollow and narrow vale, with ſteep ſides, and was behind girt in with a wood. He was thoroughly apprized, that in the front only the whole forces of the enemy were to be expected, and that the ſpace between was a plain bottom, where no ſtratagems nor ambuſhes were to be dreaded. He therefore drew up the Legionary ſoldiers into cloſe ranks, ſuſtained them with the ſoldiery lightly armed, and on each wing placed the cavalry. The Britiſh army were every where exulting and bounding in great ſeparate bands, ſome of horſe, ſome of foot, and exhibited in all a multitude ſo vaſt as hitherto was not parallelled. They were even animated by a ſpirit ſo confident and fierce, that with them they had alſo brought their wives, to be ſpectators of their victory, and ſtowed them in their waggons, which they had placed round the extremity of the camp.

Boudicea was carried about in a chariot, where before her ſat her two daughters. Traverſing the field,

field, from nation to nation, ſhe to all declared,
'That it was, in truth, uſual to the Britons to war
'under the conduct of women; yet, upon this oc-
'caſion, ſhe aſſumed not the authority of one deſ-
'cended from ſuch mighty anceſtors; nor aimed
'to revenge the loſs of her Kingdom, and that of
'her Royal opulence baſely plundered; but, ſhe
'then appeared upon the ſame foot with one of the
'vulgar, and ſought vengeance for the oppreſſion
'of public liberty, for the ſtripes inflicted upon her
'perſon, for the defilement of her virgin daughters.
'To ſuch height was the wild fury and concupiſ-
'cence of the Romans advanced, that neither the
'perſons of individuals, nor even old age, nor even
'tender maidens could eſcape their rage and con-
'tamination. The incenſed Deities were however
'ready to aid the juſt ſword of vengeance; by it a
'Legion, which dared to tempt an engagement,
'had already fallen; the reſt ſkulked behind the
'entrenchments of their camp, or were deviſing on
'every ſide which way to fly: nor would they be
'able to bear even the uproar and ſhouts of ſo many
'thouſand men, how much leſs their impetuous
'onſet and vengeful arms? If the Britons would
'ſurvey the number of men under arms; if they
'would well weigh the affecting cauſes of the war;
'they would find, that in that battle they muſt re-
'main utterly victorious, or utterly periſh. Such
'was the firm purpoſe of her who was a woman.
'The men, if they pleaſed, might ſtill enjoy life
'and bondage.'

Neither was Suetonius ſilent at a juncture ſo pe-
rillous, and though he confided in the bravery of his
men, yet failed not to join to it the force of exhor-
tations mixed with entreaties, 'to deſpiſe the ſa-
'vage dinn and clamour of the Barbarians, with
'all their impotent menaces. In that great hoſt
'were to be ſeen more weak women than vigorous

'men, an unwarlike hoſt, deſtitute of arms, and 'diſpoſed to inſtant flight, as ſoon as they came to 'experience again the ſame victorious bravery and 'ſteel which by ſo many defeats they had proved. 'Even, in an army compoſed of many Legions, 'the glory of diſcomfiting the foe remained always 'to a few; hence it would redound to their pe-'culiar glory, that though but a ſmall band, they 'ſhould reap all the renown which could accrue to 'a great and complete army. They were only to 'keep condenſed in their ranks, and having firſt 'diſcharged their darts, cloſe in, and with the na-'vels of their ſhields and edge of their ſwords, 'purſue the defeat and ſlaughter. Of the ſpoil they 'muſt have no thought, ſince after victory, to their 'ſhare of courſe would fall ſpoil, and honour, and 'all things.'

Every part of the General's ſpeech was followed by ſuch ſignal ardour in his men, with ſuch promptneſs had the old ſoldiers, men long inured to all the arts and events of battle, already aſſumed a proper poſture for wielding and darting their javelins, that Suetonius, as certain of the iſſue, gave the ſignal for onſet.

Firſt of all, the Legion kept their ground immoveable, and ſtill ſheltered themſelves, as with a bulwark, within the natural ſtreights of the place, till the enemy had advanced within arrow ſhot, and exhauſted all their darts. Upon this advantage, they ruſhed out upon them, as it were with the force and keenneſs of a wedge; equal was the impetuoſity of the auxiliaries: The horſe too, advancing with a battlement of pikes, utterly broke and overthrew whatever quarters of the foe exerted any reſiſtance and ſtrength; for, all the reſt turned their backs; but found it difficult to eſcape; the incloſure made by their own carriages had obſtructed their flight. Such too was the fury of the ſoldiers, that they ſpa-

red not even the lives of women; nay, the very beaſts eſcaped not, but were pierced with darts, and ſerved to ſwell the mighty heaps of the dead. Signal was the glory that day gained, and equal to the victories of the ancient Romans; for there are authors who record, that of the Britons were ſlain almoſt eighty thouſand, of our men about four hundred, with not many more wounded. Boudicea ended her life by poiſon. Poenius Poſtumus too, Camp-Marſhal to the ſecond Legion, upon tidings of the exploits and ſucceſs of the fourteenth and twentieth, as he had defrauded his own of equal honour, and, contrary to the laws of military duty, diſobeyed the orders of his General, ran himſelf through with his ſword.

The whole army was thereafter drawn together, and kept the field under tents, in order to finiſh the remains of the war. Their forces were moreover augmented by Nero, who ſent them from Germany two thouſand Legionary ſoldiers, eight Cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thouſand horſe. By their arrival the ninth Legion was ſupplied with a Legionary recruit; the auxiliary Cohorts and wings of the cavalry were poſted in new winter quarters; and thus, which ever of the ſeveral nations appeared hoſtile or ſuſpicious, were ſubjected to the devaſtations of fire and ſword. But famine, above all other calamities, afflicted the foe, who had neglected to cultivate the ground; and, as thoſe of every age were bent upon the war, they had deſigned to appropriate our ſtores to their own uſe. Beſides, that this people, by nature wonderfully ſtubborn, were become more backward to peace, from the behaviour of Julius Claſſicianus, who was come as ſucceſſor to Catus, and, being at variance with Suetonius, obſtructed the public good to gratify private pique. Thus he had every-where publiſhed, 'That another Governor 'was to be expected, who, free from the wrath of

'an enemy, free from the arrogance of a conqueror,
'would by merciful meaſures enſure the ſubmiſſion
'of the province.' At the ſame time, he tranſmit-
ed advice to Rome, 'That unleſs a ſucceſſor
'were ſent to Suetonius, there never would be an
'end of war;' and, while he charged all the diſ-
aſters of that General upon baſeneſs of conduct, he
aſcribed all his conqueſts and ſucceſs to the auſpi-
cious fortune of the Republic.

Hence Polycletus, one of the imperial freedmen, was diſpatched to inſpect the condition of Britain; a project from which Nero conceived mighty hopes, that by the authority of his domeſtic, private amity between the Governor and Procurator would not only be effected, but the hoſtile ſpirits of the revolted Barbarians reconciled to peace. Nor was Polycletus backward to the employment, thus far at leaſt, that having travelled through Italy and Gaul, and oppreſſed both with his enormous train, thence croſſing the channel, he marched in ſuch awful ſtate, that even to our own ſoldiers he became a terror. But, to the enemy he proved an object of deriſion; for, as amongſt them popular liberty even then reigned, they were hitherto utter ſtrangers to the power of manumiſed bondmen. They were likewiſe amazed, that a General and army, who had finiſhed ſo formidable a war, ſhould themſelves be ſubſervient to ſlaves. The whole affair, however, was reported to the Emperor in a favourable light; ſo that Suetonius was continued in the government. But, after having ſtranded a few gallies, and loſt the men who rowed them, as if this accident had been a proof that the war ſtill ſubſiſted, he was ordered to reſign his army to Petronius Turplianus, who had juſt ended his Conſulſhip; a Commander who, as he neither offered to the foe any act of hoſtility, nor from them received any inſult, beſtowed upon ſuch ſtupid inaction the worthy appellation of Peace.

This ſame year were perpetrated at Rome two glaring iniquities, one by a Senator, the other by the deſperate hand of a ſlave. Domitius Balbus had ſuſtained the dignity of Prætor, and his wealth and childleſneſs, added to his exceeding age, expoſed him to the machinations of villainy. Hence a will was forged in his name by Valerius Fabianus his kinſman, one nominated to public offices; who took into the combination Vincius Rufinus, and Terentius Lentinus, both Roman Knights. With them were aſſociated in the ſame cauſe Antonius Primus, and Aſinius Marcellus; Antonius a man of a prompt daring ſpirit; Marcellus ſignal in his deſcent, as on him devolved the luſtre of his great grand-father Aſinius Pollio; nor paſſed he himſelf for a deſpicable perſon in his own conduct, ſave that he believed poverty to be of all evils the heavieſt and moſt ſevere. Fabianus therefore, in confederacy with thoſe whom I have mentioned, and others of leſs note, ſealed and witneſſed the teſtament. A fraud of which they were convicted before the Senate. Thus Fabianus and Antonius, with Rufinus and Terentius, were all doomed to the penalties of the Cornelian law. In behalf of Marcellus, the illuſtrious memory of his anceſtors, with the entreaties of Nero, prevailed, and procured him an exemption rather from puniſhment than infamy. The ſame day involved Pompeius Ælianus too in his doom, a young man once inveſted with the dignity of Quæſtor, but now charged with being privy to the vile practices of Fabianus; thus he was interdicted Italy, as alſo the place of his nativity Spain. Upon Valerius Ponticus was inflicted the like ignominious ſentence; for that he had arraigned the delinquents at the tribunal of the Prætor, on purpoſe to ſave them from being impleaded before the Governor of Rome, and would have eluded the puniſhment through the falſe gloſſes o law, nay at

laſt

laſt had meditated their eſcape by manifeſt colluſion and double dealing. To the decree of penalties therefore the Senate added, 'That whoever ſhould 'take a price for ſuch vile employment, or whoſoever 'ſhould procure it at a price, ſhould be involved in 'the ſame penalty with one publicly condemned 'for calumny.'

Not long after Pedanius Secundus, Governor of Rome, was murdered by a ſlave of his own, either upon refuſing him his liberty, for which he had bargained at a certain price, or that he was enraged by a jealous paſſion for a pathic, and could not bear his Lord for a rival. Now, ſince according to the ſtrict inſtitutions of antiquity, the whole family of ſlaves, who upon ſuch occaſion abode under the ſame roof, muſt inevitably be adjudged to the pains of death; ſuch was the uproar and conflux of the populace, zealous to ſave ſo many innocent lives, that it proceeded even to ſedition. In the Senate itſelf there were different opinions, ſome were for the popular ſide, againſt ſuch exceſſive rigour; while many would admit no innovation or abatement. Of theſe laſt was Caius Caſſius, who, leaving the queſtion then under debate, reaſoned in this manner:

'Many times have I aſſiſted, Conſcript Fathers, 'in this auguſt aſſembly, when new decrees of Se-'nate have been demanded, contrary to the laws and 'eſtabliſhments of our fore-fathers, without ſetting 'myſelf to oppoſe ſuch demands; not from any 'doubt that, in tranſactions of every kind, the pro-'viſions made of old were not more judicious and 'upright, and whenever they were changed, for 'the worſe they were changed. But I forbore, leſt 'I ſhould ſeem, from an immoderate fondneſs for 'primitive rules, to magnify my own zeal; beſides, 'whatever weight I may have, I judged ought not 'to be forfeited, by engaging in frequent oppoſiti-'ons, but to be reſerved in full vigour againſt any

'emergent conjuncture, when the Commonwealth
'ſhould ſtand in need of council; a conjuncture
'which this very day has produced. A Senator of
'Conſular rank is murdered in his own houſe by the
'treachery of one of his own ſlaves; a treachery
'which was by none of the reſt prevented, by none
'of them diſcloſed, although over their heads was
'hanging ſtill in full force the decree of Senate,
'which denounced to the whole domeſtic tribe the
'pains of death. In the name of the Gods, aſcer-
'tain by a decree the deſired impunity. But then,
'what ſecurity will any man derive from his dignity,
'when even the Government of Rome ſecured not
'him who poſſeſſed it? Who will be protected by
'the number of his ſlaves, when a band of four
'hundred afforded no protection to Pedanius Se-
'cundus? To which of us will our domeſtics,
'upon any occaſion, adminiſter aid, when they re-
'gard not our lives, even where for their neglect
'capital terrors threaten theirs? or has, in truth,
'what ſome without bluſhing feign, the murderer
'only taken vengeance for injuries received? Had
'this ſlave any diſpute about his paternal patrimony?
'or had he inherited from his progenitors the bond-
'man his pathic? Let us even declare that his Lord
'was rightfully killed. Though it be ſtrange we
'ſhould hunt after arguments in an affair determined
'by our wiſer anceſtors! yet ſuppoſe the queſtion
'were now firſt to be decided; ſtill do you believe
'that a vindictive ſlave could deſperately deſign to
'kill his Lord, yet not a menacing word fall from
'him? was nothing raſhly uttered by him? Be it
'ſo, that he effectually hid his bloody purpoſe; be
'it ſo, that he prepared the bloody inſtrument in
'the midſt of his fellows, all ignorant of his ends.
'but ſtill, could he paſs through the guard of ſlaves
'at the chamber door, open thoſe doors, bring in a
'light, perpetrate the aſſaſſination, unknown to

'them

'them all? Many murderous deſigns are prevented
'by our ſlaves; and while they make ſuch diſcove-
'ries, though we are but individuals, we can live
'ſafely amongſt many, and owe our ſecurity to their
'care; or if at laſt we muſt periſh by them, the
'blood of many traitors ſhall atone for ours. By
'our anceſtors the ſpirit of their ſlaves was al-
'ways ſuſpected, even of ſuch as were born in their
'private territories, nay, in their houſes, and had
'with their milk ſucked in a tenderneſs for their
'Lords. And ſince we are come to entertain in
'our families nations of ſlaves inured to their nati-
'onal rites widely different from ours, and addicted
'to ſtrange Religions, or obſerving none; it is im-
'poſſible to curb ſuch a promiſcuous rabble, with-
'out the intervention of exemplary terrors. But
'with the guilty ſome innocents muſt periſh. Yes;
'and ſo it is in an army, which, after a ſhameful
'rout, are puniſhed with decimation, where to be
'baſtinaded to death, is often the lot of the faultleſs
'and brave. Somewhat there is grievous and unjuſt
'in every great exertion of juſtice, where private
'ſufferings are compenſated by public utility.'

This judgment of Caſſius, which no particular Senator durſt venture to combat, was yet oppoſed by the diſſenting murmurs of ſuch as thus uttered their compaſſion for thoſe involved in it, for their number, for the age of ſome, for the ſex of others, for the undoubted innocence of moſt. It was however carried by the party who adjudged all to the pains of death. A judgment which yet it was impoſſible to execute; for the populace were flocked tumultuouſly together, and threatening to fall on with ſtones and firebands. Nero therefore reprimanded the people by an edict, and with lines of ſoldiers ſecured all the way through which the condemned were led to execution. Cingonius Varro had moved, that the freedmen too, who abode under the ſame roof, ſhould

be for ever expelled Italy; but this was prohibited by the Prince, who urged, 'That ſince the rigorous 'uſage of antiquity had not been mollified by mercy, 'it ought not to be heightened by cruelty.'

During the ſame Conſuls, Tarquitius Priſcus was, at the ſuit of the Bithynians, condemned for public rapine, to the infinite gratification of the fathers, who well remembered that by him had been acuſed Statilius Taurus, his own Proconſul in Africa. Moreover, a general poll was taken, and a general rate impoſed throughout both the Gauls; an employment executed by Quintus Voluſius, Sextius Africanus, and Trebellius Maximus, and, in it, much contention aroſe between Voluſius and Africanus, two men who were competitors in nobility and rank; for Trebellius, while, in this their ſtrife, he was neglected by both, they jointly contributed to render him ſuperior to either.

The ſame year, Memmius Regulus finiſhed his days, a man for his eminent authority and firmneſs of mind, in ſignal eſtimation; and, as far as the luſtre of a citizen is not darkened by the ſhade and high ſtation of the Emperor, the diſtinction which he bore was ſplendid and ſublime; inſomuch that, when Nero was once under the preſſure of ſickneſs, and the flatterers about him were lamenting, 'that, 'if the illneſs proved fatal, there muſt be an end of 'the Empire with that of his life;' he replied, 'That to the Republic there would ſtill remain a 'certain refuge.' And, as they then aſked, 'In 'whom chiefly,' he added, 'Memmius Regulus.' Yet Regulus preſerved his life after all this, under the protection of his own quiet ſpirit; beſides that he derived his quality from a recent ſtock, and was no wiſe obnoxious for his wealth. This year too Nero inſtituted an Athletic ſchool, and to the Knights and Senators, for their exerciſes there, preſented anointing oil, according to the wanton uſages of the revelling Greeks.

In

In the Conſulſhip of Publius Marius and Lucius Aſinius, the Prætor Antiſtius, whoſe arbitrary adminiſtration in the Tribuneſhip of the people I have remembered, framed a Poem full of invectives againſt the Prince, and expoſed it to a numerous aſſembly, then banquetting in the houſe of Oſtorius Scapula. Hence he was arraigned upon the Law of violated Majeſty, by Coſſutianus Capito, who, at the requeſt of Tigellinus his father in law, had acquired the dignity of Senator. This Law, after long diſuſe, was upon this occaſion firſt revived, though it was believed, that thence the doom of Antiſtius was not ſo much intended, as matter of renown to the Emperor; for, that, when the Senate had capitally condemned him, Cæſar meant, by interpoſing his Tribunitial power, to ſave him from the pains of death. Now, as the evidence delivered by Oſtorius was, that he had heard nothing at all of the imputed crime, the contrary teſtimony of other witneſſes was credited, and Junius Marullus Conſul elect, voted that 'The accuſed ſhould be diveſted of his Prætorſhip, 'and executed, according to rigour of antiquity.' The reſt too were concurring with the ſame vote, when Pætus Thraſea, after much honourable commendation of Nero, and many bitter reproaches upon Antiſtius, argued, 'That whatever ſeverity 'the guilt of the perſon accuſed might merit, 'yet an adequate meaſure of puniſhment was not 'what they were now to adjudge, under a Prince ſo 'excellent, and while the Senate in its deciſions was 'under no controul. Halters and executioners were 'terrors long ſince aboliſhed; moreover, by the 'laws penal ſentences were already preſcribed, in 'conformity to which, puniſhments might be pro-'nounced without bringing the judges under the im-'putation of cruelty, or the times under that of 'infamy. What therefore remained, but to ſen-'tence his eſtate to confiſcation, and him to exile

'in an iſland? whence the longer he protracted his 'guilty life, the greater private miſery he muſt en- 'dure himſelf, however, a ſingular example of 'public clemency.'

The freedom of Thraſea broke the bondage which hung upon the minds of others; ſo that after the Conſul had given leave to divide by diſceſſion, all but a few went readily into the motion of Thraſea. Of theſe few was Vitellius, moſt abandoned to ſtrains of flattery, one whoſe cuſtom it was to be carping at every upright man, and awed into ſilence by every reply; a conduct uſual to ſlaviſh ſpirits. The Conſuls however not daring to give the laſt ſanction to the decree of Senate, wrote the Emperor an account of their unanimity; and the account affected him, inſomuch that he heſitated a while, between ſhame and reſentment; at laſt he returned an anſwer, 'That Antiſtius, unprovoked by any in- 'jury, had uttered many grievous aſperſions upon 'the Prince; and, for theſe aſperſions proper ven- 'geance had been required from the Senate. Neither 'would it have been more than juſt judgment, to 'have ordained a puniſhment ſuitable to the enor- 'mous meaſure of the iniquity. For himſelf; as he 'would have certainly oppoſed any rigorous doom, 'if ſuch they had decreed, he would no wiſe fruſ- 'trate their mercy and moderation. Determine 'therefore they might, as to them ſeemed beſt; nay 'from him they had full leave to pronounce a ſen- 'tence of acquittal.' By the recital of theſe expreſſions, with others in the like ſtrain, his diſpleaſure appeared notorious; yet neither did the Conſuls vary the ſtate of the queſtion, nor Thraſea depart from his motion, nor any of the reſt deſert the meaſures which by their aſſent they had approved. Some would not, by a ſeverer ſentence, ſeem to ex-

[a] Namely, to go over to him whoſe vote they approved.

'poſe

poſe the Prince to popular malignity; many placed their ſafety in their numbers: Thraſea was governed by his wonted firmneſs of ſoul, and ſcorned to forfeit his illuſtrious renown.

For an offence much like the former, Fabricius Veiento was involved in a heavy proſecution; 'for 'that he had compiled a long train of invectives 'againſt Senators and Pontiffs, and inſerted the ſame 'in the rolls to which he had given the title of *Co-* '*dicils*, or laſt will.' To this charge it was added by Talius Geminus his accuſer, 'That he had 'made conſtant traffic of the Prince's bounty and 'favours, and turned into purchaſe and ſale the 'right of occupying the great offices of the ſtate;' an argument this that determined Nero to adjudge his cauſe in perſon. Veiento being convicted, the Emperor baniſhed him from Italy, and doomed to the flames theſe his writings, which were univerſally ſought and read, while it was difficult to find them, and dangerous to keep them; afterwards, from the freedom and impunity of poſſeſſing them, they ſunk into neglect and oblivion.

But while the public evils waxed every day more poignant, the ſupports of the public became leſſened, and Burrhus yielded to his laſt fate; nor is it certainly known whether by poiſon or a diſeaſe. The latter was imagined from hence, that a ſwelling which began in his throat increaſed inwardly by degrees, till by a total ſtoppage of reſpiration he died ſuffocated. Many aſſerted, that by the order of Nero, under appearance of applying a remedy, his palate and glands were fomented with ſome venomous medicine, and that Burrhus having perceived the deadly fraud, when the Prince came to viſit him, turned his face and eyes another way, and to all his repeated inquiries about his health, returned no other anſwer but this, *I am well*. Great and permanent at Rome was the ſenſe of his loſs, as

well through the memory of his own virtue, as from the characters of his ſucceſſors, one innocent and heavy, the other black with all the moſt flagrant iniquities and defilements. For, Nero had created two captains of the Prætorian guards, Fenius Rufus, in compliment to the populace, who loved him for his diſintereſted adminiſtration in the ſuper-intendency of the public ſtores, as alſo Sofonius Tigellinus, purely from partiality to the inveterate lewdneſs and infamy of the man, for pollution and infamy were the characteriſtic of Tigellinus. Hence his ſuperior ſway over the ſpirit of Nero, as one aſſumed into power from an intimacy in all the ſecret ſallies of his luſt. Rufus was diſtinguiſhed in the city and ſoldiery with popular eſtimation; a character which brought him under diſtaſte with Nero.

The death of Burrhus quite overthrew the authority of Seneca, as righteous meaſures had no longer the ſame ſuccours now the other champion of virtue was removed; and the heart of Nero was attached to men altogether wicked and depraved. Theſe combined to aſſail Seneca with criminal imputations manifold; as, 'That he had already accumulated wealth incredible, far ſurpaſſing the meaſure of a citizen, and was ſtill accumulating more: that from the Emperor he was labouring to withdraw the veneration of the Roman people: nay, ſuch were the charms of his gardens, ſuch the magnificence of his ſeats, as if in them he aimed even to excel the Emperor. To himſelf alone he arrogated the praiſe and perfection of eloquence; and, ever ſince Nero became inſpired with a paſſion for verſifying, Seneca had employed himſelf, with unuſual aſſiduity, in the ſame ſtudy: for, to the bodily recreations of the Prince, he had declared an open enmity, and hence diſparaged his vigour and ſkill in the managing horſes, hence turned his voice into mockery, whenever

'he

'he ſung; all with this view, that in the whole 'Republic there ſhould nothing occur ſignal or ſub-'lime, which was not by him introduced and de-'viſed. Surely Nero was paſſed the weakneſs of 'childhood, and arrived at his prime of youth: he 'ought now to depoſe his pedagogue, and truſt only 'to the documents conveyed to him by tutors ſuf-'ficiently famous, his own mighty anceſtors.'

Seneca was not unapprized of the efforts of his calumniators, the ſame being diſcloſed to him by ſuch as ſtill retained ſome concern for truth and honour; but, as the Emperor manifeſted daily more ſhyneſs, and leſs affability; he beſought an hour of audience, and having obtained it, began thus: 'This is the fourteenth year ſince I was firſt aſ-'ſigned to cultivate thy promiſing and princely 'ſpirit, Cæſar, and the eighth ſince thy advance-'ment to the Empire. During this whole ſeries of 'time, ſo mighty and ſo many are the honours and 'riches which thou haſt ſhowered down upon me, 'that, to my abundant felicity, nought is wanting 'but ſome bounds and moderation. To corrobo-'rate this addreſs, I ſhall quote great examples, 'and illuſtrious names, ſuch as are adapted, not 'to my ſtation and fortune, but to thine. Auguſ-'tus, from whom thou art the fourth in deſcent, 'granted to Marcus Agrippa leave to retreat to 'Mitylene, and to Caius Mæcenas he allowed, 'even in Rome, a receſs as complete as in any re-'mote country he could have enjoyed; the former 'his companion in the war, the other long haraſſed 'at Rome with occupations manifold, both by him 'diſtinguiſhed with ſuch remunerations as were glo-'rious, in truth, yet ſignally due to their tranſcen-'dent worth and ſervices. For myſelf, by what 'merit could I pretend to incite that boundleſs 'munificence of thine, other than mine own ſoli-'tary ſtudies, formed, if I may ſo ſpeak, and nou-

'riſhed in obſcurity? and even from them this glory
'is devolved upon me, that in the ſeaſonings of
'literature I am thought to have initiated thy youth;
'a ſublime reward alone for ſuch ſlender ſervice!
'but thou haſt encompaſſed me about with an ac-
'cumulation of Imperial benignity and grace, be-
'yond all expreſſion or limits, and with wealth
'without meaſure or end. Inſomuch that I often
'reaſon thus with myſelf, Am I, (one by rank no
'higher than a Knight, by birth no other than a
'foreigner) am I numbered with the Grandees of
'the Imperial city? Hath my new name thus blaz-
'ed forth amongſt the illuſtrious Lords of Rome,
'men who juſtly boaſt a long train of hereditary
'honours? Where then is that Philoſophic ſpirit,
'which profeſſes to be ſatisfied with humble neceſ-
'ſaries? Is Seneca that man? He who thus incloſes
'and adorns ſuch ſpacious gardens; he who thus
'travels in pomp from ſeat to ſeat in the neigh-
'bourhood of Rome? Is it he who wallows in
'wealth, in ample poſſeſſions, in copious and ex-
'tenſive uſury? One plea only there is that occurs
'to my thoughts, that againſt thy donations it be-
'came not me to ſtrive; but both of us have
'now diſcharged to the utmoſt meaſure this com-
'merce of liberality and duty; whatever the
'bounty of a Prince could confer upon his friend,
'whatever a friend could accept from the bounty
'of his Prince, thou haſt already conferred, I have
'already accepted. Any further addition can only
'prove freſh fuel to the bitterneſs of envy, an ene-
'my which, like all other earthly things, lies, in
'truth, ſubdued under the weight of thy mighty
'grandeur, but faſtens upon me with all its rage,
'and I ſtand in eminent need of ſuccour. Thus,
'in the ſame manner, as were I weary and faint
'through the toil of journeying or of warfare, I
'ſhould

'ſhould ſupplicate for refreſhment and reſt; ſo in 'this long journey of life, old as I am, and no longer 'equal to the eaſieſt truſt, and lighteſt cares, 'and utterly unable to ſuſtain the load and envy 'of my own over-grown riches; I ſeek aſſiſtance 'and ſupport. Order the auditors of thy revenue 'to undertake the direction of my fortune, and to 'annex it to thy own. Nor ſhall I by this plunge 'myſelf into indigence and poverty, but having 'only ſurrendered that immenſe opulence, which 'expoſes me to ſo much invidious ſplendor, I ſhall 'redeem all the time which is at preſent ſequeſter-'ed to the care of ſo many ſeats and gardens, and 'apply it to the repoſe and cultivation of my mind. 'To thee remains abundant ſtrength and ſupport, 'and thy rule is, by a long courſe of reigning, 'throughly eſtabliſhed; thou mayſt now ſpare thy 'ancient friends and counſellors, and vouchſafe 'them a retreat to quiet and eaſe. To thy glory 'this alſo will redound, that to the higheſt eſtate 'thou hadſt advanced ſuch men as knew how to 'bear the loweſt.'

To this ſpeech Nero replied in this manner: 'That I am able thus inſtantly to combat theſe 'ſtudied reaſonings of thine, is a faculty which 'from thy benignity and care I firſt derived; for 'thou haſt taught me, not only the art of acquit-'ing myſelf promptly, where matters are prepared, 'but even in emergencies intirely unforeſeen. It 'is true, my anceſtor Auguſtus granted liberty to 'Agrippa and Mæcenas to retreat, after a life of 'many labours, to a life of eaſe; but at ſuch a 'time of his age and eſtabliſhment he granted it, 'that his authority was ſufficient to ſuſtain any 'conceſſion which he could have made them, of 'what kind or importance ſoever: And he diveſted 'neither of them of the bounties and recompences 'which he had conferred upon them. In the perils

'of war and of civil diſtraction, they had meritoriouſly ſerved him; for in ſuch were the younger years of Auguſtus employed. Neither wouldſt thou, Seneca, have failed to have aſſiſted me with thy perſon and arms, if I had been engaged in war. What my different circumſtances required, thou haſt done. With wiſe rules, wholſome counſel, and uſeful precepts, thou haſt cheriſhed my infancy, and, ſince, my youth. In truth, the gifts and acquirements which I hold from thee, while my life remains, will never forſake me: whereas the acknowledgments which thou reapeſt from me, thy gardens, ſeats and rents, are all expoſed to uncertainty and diſaſters; and however copious they may appear, there are many inſtances of favourites, in worthy accompliſhments no wiſe equal to thee, yet diſtinguiſhed with larger poſſeſſions. I bluſh to quote freedmen that are beheld more wealthy than thou. Hence too I am aſhamed that thou, who in dearneſs to me art beyond all others, doſt not yet in fortune ſurpaſs all. Thy age, moreover, ſtill retains ſoundneſs and vigour, is ſtill capable of managing thy revenues, and of enjoying them with pleaſure. For myſelf, I am but yet in the dawn of Empire; unleſs, perhaps, thou doſt account that my munificence to thee has already exceeded that of Claudius to Vitellius, a man diſtinguiſhed with three Conſulſhips; when, in truth, all my bounty towards thee, cannot equal the opulence which Voluſius, by a long courſe of parſimony only, has acquired. I add, that, if, in any particular I deviate, through the frailty of my years, it is thou who doſt check and recover me: and, as thou haſt with good education embelliſhed my youth, thou doſt ſtill manage and controul it. It is not with thy moderation, if thou returneſt thy wealth, nor with thy receſs, if thou forſakeſt thy

'Prince,

'Prince, that the tongues of men will be employ-
'ed; no, the treaſure returned will by the univer-
'ſal cry be aſcribed to my rapaciouſneſs, and thy
'retirement, to the dread of my cruelty. But ſup-
'poſe this diſintereſtedneſs of thine meet with the
'higheſt ſtrains of popular praiſe; yet ſurely upon
'a wiſe man it will reflect no honour, that to him-
'ſelf he meditates glory from a proceeding which
'upon his friend muſt bring infamy.' To all this he added kiſſes and embracing, framed as he was by nature, and by habit nurtured, to ſmother his hate under hollow courteſy and blandiſhments. Seneca preſented his thanks, which is the certain iſſue of every argument with one who poſſeſſes ſovereignty. He changed, however, the methods and ſymptoms of his former power, ſtopped the uſual conflux of ſuch as attended to pay their court, avoided a train of attendants, and his appearance abroad was exceeding rare, as if by ill health, or the ſtudy of philoſophy, he were confined at home.

After the diſgrace of Seneca, to depreſs the authority of Fenius Rufus, became a ſhort taſk, when the crime charged upon him by his enemies, was that of his adherence to Agrippina. Tigellinus too waxed daily more mighty, and as he was perſuaded that his miſchievous devices, in which alone his whole ſufficiency lay, would prove ſtill more agreeable and meritorious, if he could engage the Prince under the tyes of a confederacy in acts of blood, he dived curiouſly into his ſecret fears; and having diſcovered that Plautus and Sylla were the men principally dreaded, and thence both lately removed from Italy; the former into Aſia, the other into Narbon Gaul, he urged upon Nero, 'the ſignal quality of the men,
'the nearneſs of their abode to great armies, Plau-
'tus in the neighbourhood of that in the Eaſt,
'Sylla of that in Germany. For himſelf, he har-
'boured not, like Burrhus, different hopes and
'views, but conſulted purely the ſecurity of the

'Prince,

‘ Prince. But though his ſafety at Rome might be
‘ enſured, and all conſpiracies there obviated by
‘ prompt and temporary meaſures; yet, by what
‘ meaſures could remote inſurrections be ſuppreſ-
‘ ſed, and revolts in the confines of the Empire?
‘ The nations of Gaul, animated by the dictatorial
‘ name of Sylla, were already upon the wing for
‘ rebellion; nor were the ſeveral people of Aſia
‘ leſs ſuſpected of an attachment to the other, for
‘ the illuſtrious memory and renown of his grand-
‘ father Druſus. Sylla was likewiſe indigent, an
‘ eſpecial incitement to reſoluteneſs and enterprize;
‘ and he feigned ſloth only till he ſpied an opportu-
‘ nity for ſome deſperate attempt. Plautus was
‘ maſter of mighty wealth, nor ſo much as pre-
‘ tended a fondneſs for quiet, but even profeſſed to
‘ admire the lives and examples of the ancient Ro-
‘ mans; nay, he had adopted the ſect of the Stoics,
‘ with all their ſuperciliouſneſs and pride, a ſect
‘ which prompts men to be turbulent, and to chuſe
‘ a life full of action.’ Without further deliberation or delay, the murder of both was doomed. Sylla was, by aſſaſſins, who in ſix days arrived expreſs at Marſeilles, diſpatched as he ſat down to meat, without previous apprehenſion or tidings. When his head was preſented to Nero, the ſight moved him to deriſion, ‘ as if it were unſeaſonably hoary, and
‘ thence uncomely.’

The bloody ſentence awarded againſt Plautus was not ſo ſucceſsfully concealed, for his life was of ſenſible concernment to many; moreover, from the length of the way, and the paſſing of the ſea, ſo much time intervened, that public fame became alarmed; and amongſt the people an imagination prevailed, that he had fled for ſanctuary to Corbulo, who then commanded mighty armies, a man who, if men ſignal in name and innocence were to be marked out for ſlaughter, ſtood in the firſt degree

of

of fear and jeopardy. Nay, it was divulged with the ſame credulity, 'That all Aſia had taken arms 'to eſpouſe the defence of the young nobleman; 'and that, as the ſoldiers diſpatched to perpetrate 'the murder, were neither powerful in their num-'ber, nor prompt in their inclinations, when they 'could not execute their orders, they alſo had of 'themſelves joined in the revolt, and eſpouſed the 'new cauſe.' Theſe rumours, publiſhed by the wild breath of common fame, were readily credited by all the diſaffected, and, through hate and diſaf-fection, inlarged. Moreover, to Plautus were brought the counſel and admonitions of Lucius Antiſtius, his father-in-law, by a freedman of his own, who, ſpeeded by a briſk wind, had out-ſailed the fatal Centurion. The advice imported, 'That he ſhould 'be ſure to ſhun a daſtardly death; he had yet lei-'ſure to eſcape, and could not fail of finding from 'the worthy and generous, compaſſion for a name 'ſo noble and diſtinguiſhed. With himſelf he muſt 'aſſociate the reſolute and brave, nor ought he the 'while to ſlight any means of aid. If he had once 'repulſed the ſixty ſoldiers (for ſo many were com-'ing to the execution) he might then, while the 'tydings were tranſmitting to Nero, while another 'band of men were advancing ſo vaſt a way, pro-'ſecute a world of ſchemes, ſufficient to lay the 'terrible foundations of a war. At worſt he would 'either, by ſuch meaſures, purchaſe honourable ſe-'curity; at leaſt, after a brave reſiſtance, he had 'nought more dreadful to ſuffer, than he muſt ſuffer 'under a ſtupid acquieſcence.'

But theſe conſiderations moved not Plautus; whether it were that being an exile, and deſtitute of arms, he foreſaw no certain reſource, or whether he were weary of perplexity, and wavering hopes, or perhaps chiefly influenced by tenderneſs for his wife and children, to whom he imagined the Prince would

would prove the more reconcilable, when he found himself no wise incenſed by any inſurrection or alarms. There are thoſe who relate, that the advices he received from his father-in-law were of a different ſtrain, importing as if nothing ſanguinary or capital threatened him. They add, 'That two Philoſophers, Ceranus a Greek, and Muſonius a Tuſcan, had exhorted him to wait his death with unſhaken intrepidity, as by it he would be disburdened of a life fraught with uncertainty and fears. Certain it is, the aſſaſſins found him in the middle of the day, naked and applying himſelf to the uſual exerciſes of his body.' In this ſituation the Centurion butchered him, in the ſight of Pelago the Eunuch, who was by Nero ſet over the Centurion and his band, like the Royal miniſter of ſome tyrant, truſted with the command of his body-guards, and inſtruments of blood. The head of the ſlain was carried to Rome, and ſhewed to the Emperor. What he ſaid when he ſaw it, I ſhall repeat in his very words. 'What is it, cried he, that withſtands Nero, that he may not now diſcard all fear, and inſtantly ſet about ſolemnizing his nuptials with Poppæa, a ſolemnity hitherto deferred becauſe of the terrors ariſing from ſuch men as this? May he not inſtantly divorce Octavia his wife? one eaſy, in truth, and modeſt in her conduct, but, ſtill from the name of her Imperial father, and from the ardent zeal of the people towards her, a burden and eye-ſore.' To the Senate he ſent letters, but in them owned nothing of the aſſaſſination of Sylla and Plautus, yet alledged, that both were turbulent and ſeditious ſpirits, and what vehement ſollicitude it coſt him to preſerve the peace and ſtability of the Commonwealth. Hence public proceſſions and devotions were decreed to the Deities, and Sylla and Plautus degraded from the dignity of Senators. Strange mockery and inſult, more provoking to the public, than its more ſubſtantial calamities!

Nero

Nero therefore having received the decree of Senate, and perceiving that all his wickedneſs and bloody cruelties paſſed for ſo many feats of renown, thruſt Octavia forthwith from his bed, alledging, 'that ſhe was barren,' and then eſpouſed Poppæa. This woman, who had been long the concubine of Nero, and both as her adulterer and her huſband, ever ruled him implicity, ſuborned a domeſtic of Octavia's to accuſe her of criminal amours with a ſlave. For this end one Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, who excelled upon the flute, was impleaded as her gallant. Hence her maids were examined upon the rack; and, though ſome of them, overcome by the fury of the torture, favoured the perfidious forgery, the major part perſevered to vindicate the unſpotted ſanctimony of their Lady. Amongſt theſe was one, who, while Tigellinus was vehemently urging a confeſſion, returned him for anſwer, 'That the parts of Octavia which denoted her a 'woman, were purer than his mouth.' The reſult however was her removal from the palace, and her huſband, under the mock-judgment of a legal divorcement, and for her appenage, ſhe was preſented with the houſe of Burrhus, and with the poſſeſſions of Plautus, black and ill-boding donations. She was thereafter baniſhed into Campania, and over her a guard of ſoldiers placed. From this cruel treatment there aroſe amongſt the populace many mournful complaints, by them no wiſe ſmothered or diſguiſed; ſince they are governed by a lower meaſure of circumſpection, and, from the mediocrity of their lot, expoſed to fewer perils. Whether, by theſe daring reſentments of the people, Nero was alarmed, or moved by remorſe for ſuch black iniquity, he recalled Octavia his wife.

Hence the people in tranſports of joy aſcended the Capitol, and now at laſt found occaſion to accoſt the Deities with adoration and thankſgiving; overthrew the

the ſtatues of Poppæa, but bore upon their ſhoulders the images of Octavia, bedecked them with freſh flowers, placed them in the great Forum, and in the ſeveral Temples. They alſo burſt into ſtrains of praiſes to the Prince, and ſought to offer him in perſon their veneration and vows. Already they were filling the palace with their multitude and acclamations, when ſuddenly ſome bands of the guards iſſued out upon them, and aſſailing them with blows, nay, threatening them with ſlaughter, repulſed and utterly diſperſed them. The diſorders too committed during the tumult, were repaired, to Poppæa her honour publicly reſtored, and her ſtatues replaced. But ſhe, ever implacable in her hate, was now become more implacable through fear, leſt either the fury of the populace ſhould break into outrages ſtill more terrible, or Nero be brought to change with the bent and inclination of the people. She therefore fell proſtrate at his knees, and ſaid, ‘ Her affairs were no longer in a ſituation to encourage ‘ her competition for the glory of his marriage, ‘ though dearer to her than life was that glory; her ‘ life itſelf was in extremity of danger from the followers and ſlaves of Octavia, a rabble who, having aſſumed the name of the people, in the midſt ‘ of peace, committed ſuch violences as were ſcarce ‘ produced by war. Againſt the Prince theſe arms ‘ were wielded, nor was aught wanting but a leader, ‘ a want which, when commotions were once raiſed, was ever eaſy to be ſupplied. Octavia had ‘ no more to do, but to relinquiſh Campania, and ‘ advance to Rome itſelf, ſhe at whoſe nod even in ‘ her abſence inſurrections could be excited. For her ‘ own particular, with what tranſgreſſion was ſhe ‘ chargeable? in what inſtance had ſhe offended ‘ any individual? was ſhe from hence obnoxious, ‘ that to the houſe of the Cæſars ſhe would yield a ‘ genuine iſſue; when the Roman people rather af-

‘ fected

'fected to see the offspring of an Ægyptian minstrel 'heir to the Imperial dignity? in a word, if this 'expedient best suited with the exigency of things, 'he ought to call home his Lady rather through 'choice than compulsion, or else to consult the se-'curity of himself and the state by just vengeance. 'It was true, the first tumult was dissipated by 'small force; but, if the people came utterly to de-'spair of seeing Octavia any longer the wife of Nero, 'they themselves would not fail to give a proper 'husband to Octavia.'

This discourse, artfully mixed and framed to produce both terror and wrath, had its effect upon Nero, and while he listened to it at once frightened and enraged him. But little had availed the fiction of Octavia's intrigue with her slaves, a fiction which was quite defeated by the testimony of her maids upon the rack. It was therefore agreed to procure some one who should own himself guilty with her, one against whom might be also feigned a plausible charge of meditating a revolution in the state; and such a proper instrument was judged Anicetus, who had accomplished the murder of his mother, and, as I have related, commanded the fleet at Misenum, a man held by the Emperor, just after that bloody service, in some slight favour, and thence-forth in heavier detestation; for Princes behold the ministers of their cruelties, as men whose looks reproach their guilty souls. Him therefore Nero summoned, and reminding him of his former exploit, 'Thou alone, said he, 'didst relieve me from the conspiracies of a 'mother; service of no less merit at present invites 'thee, if thou canst but discharge me effectually of 'an irksome and disaffected wife; nor in this task 'needest thou either strength or weapon; thou art 'only to acknowledge that thou hast been engaged 'with Octavia in adultery.' Nero promised him 'rewards of mighty value, though at first it was

'necessary

'neceſſary they ſhould continue private and un-
'known, as alſo, upon his mock condemnation,
'delectable retirements; but, in caſe of refuſal,
'threatened him with preſent death.' Anicetus, prompted by his own frantic ſpirit, and by the protection and impunity which had followed all his enormities paſt, carried his fictions even beyond his orders, and communicated, as ſecrets, all his fictions to his friends: a ſet of men whom the Prince had placed about him, as it were to aid him by their counſels in his deſigns. Then, as convicted by his own confeſſion, he was baniſhed into Sardinia, where he underwent a ſort of exile far from neceſſitous or miſerable, and died at laſt by the lot of nature.

Now Nero iſſued an edict, 'That Octavia, in
'hopes of engaging the fleet in her conſpiracy, had
'thence corrupted Anicetus the admiral;' and, forgetting that he had but juſt before accuſed her of barrenneſs, he added, 'that, conſcious of her ſecret
'luſts, ſhe had always forced abortion; and that all
'theſe her crimes were by him fully detected.' Thus he commanded her to be ſhut up in an iſland, that of Pandateria.

Never exile filled the hearts of the beholders with more affecting compaſſion. Some ſtill remembered to have ſeen Agrippina doomed to the like fate; the more recent ſufferings of Julia were likewiſe recalled to mind, the firſt baniſhed by Tiberius, the other by Claudius. But theſe Ladies had arrived at maturity of years, had enjoyed ſome ſeaſons of felicity, taſted ſome ſhare of delight, and, by reviewing their once happier fortune, their pangs, from inſtant cruelty, were abated. To Octavia the firſt day of her nuptials ſerved for a funeral day; ſhe was brought under a roof where all muſt appear diſmal and ſad, where her unhappy father was ſnatched away by poiſon, and inſtantly afterwards her brother by the ſame

cruel

cruel means. Next, though a wife, ſhe was ſubjected to the aſcendancy of a ſlave. Then her huſband eſpouſed Poppæa, a marriage threatening nothing leſs than deſtruction to his legitimate wife. Laſtly, ſhe ſuffered the imputation of a crime more piercing than the moſt cruel death whatſoever. Add to all this, a tender girl, in the twentieth year of her age, encompaſſed with an hoſt of ſoldiers and Centurions, already bereft of life, through the ſad preſages of impending evils, yet not ſurrendered to the quiet reſt of death.

After the interval of a few days, ſhe was formally doomed to die, though to prevent it, ſhe deſcended to alledge, 'That ſhe owned herſelf in 'a ſtate of widowhood, and claimed no other pre-'rogative than of being only the Emperor's ſiſter. 'She pleaded their common anceſtors, who bore 'the dear and favourite name of *Germanicus*:' at length ſhe even invoked the name of Agrippina; ſhe ſaid, 'That had Agrippina lived, ſhe ſhould, 'in truth, have endured a lot of wedlock ſufficiently unhappy, but ſtill ſuch a one as would never 'have ended in a bloody doom.' Forthwith ſhe was tied down with bonds, and the veins over all her limbs were opened; but, as her blood was chilled through fear, and iſſued ſlowly, the execution was completed by ſtifling her in the ſteam of a boiling bath. This cruelty was followed by another yet more crying and brutal; her head being cut off and carried to Rome, Poppæa choſe to entertain herſelf with the tragical ſpectacle. For this execution the Senate decreed gifts and oblations to the Temples; a circumſtance which I inſert with deſign that whoever ſhall, from me or any other Writer, learn the events of thoſe calamitous times, may hold it for granted, that as often as ever ſentences of murder and baniſhment were pronounced by the Prince, ſo often were thankſgivings by the father

fathers paid to the Deities; and the very ſame ordinances which of old were monuments of public proſperity, ſerved now for teſtimonies of public havock and ruin. And yet, I ſhall not fail to recount every degree of Senate, which either proved a new flight of flattery, or only the dregs of exceſſive tameneſs and ſervitude.

This year was fatal to Doryphorus and Pallas, two Imperial freedmen of moſt conſpicuous note, both believed to have periſhed by poiſon, the former, for thwarthing the marriage with Poppæa, and Pallas, for that by his great age he detained from the Emperor his ineſtimable wealth. Againſt Seneca, Romanus had ſecretly laboured a charge of being an aſſociate with Caius Piſo, but was himſelf encountered by Seneca with more vigour for the ſame crime. Hence a ſource of much dread to Piſo; and againſt Nero there aroſe a conſpiracy, mighty, indeed, and menacing, but abortive and unproſperous.

THE

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XV.

The SUMMARY.

Vologeſes *King of Parthia invades Armenia, but is oppoſed by* Corbulo *with great prudence and ſpirit.* Cæſennius Pætus *ſent by* Nero *to command in Armenia. His raſhneſs, vanity, and diſgraceful conceſſions to the enemy.* Corbulo *relieve him* Poppæa *bears a daughter to* Nero. *Deputies from Parthia to ſue for holding the ſovereignty of Armenia, return without ſucceſs, and the conduct of that war committed to* Corbulo, *who again enters Armenia, terrifies the Parthians into a treaty, obliges them to lay down their arms, and* Tiridates *to lay his crown at the feet of* Nero's *ſtatue, never to reſume it more without the Emperor's conſent.* Nero *ſings in the publick Theatre at Naples. His exceſſes in all ſolution and cruelty. Rome conſumed by fire;* Nero *ſuſpected as the author of it. He falſly charges it upon the Chriſtians, and deſtroys them by many wanton*

mercileſs torments. A conſpiracy formed againſt him; its progreſs, detection, and the many illuſtrious lives ſacrificed for it, with the boundleſs public flattery then ariſing from private ſufferings and ſorrow.

DURING theſe tranſactions, Vologeſes King of the Parthians, having learnt the exploits of Corbulo, that Tigranes, an alien born, was by him eſtabliſhed King of Armenia; from whence his brother Tiridates had been ignominiouſly expulſed, was in himſelf bent to revenge the deſpite done to the Monarchy of the Arſacides; but revolving again upon the mighty power of the Romans, and awed with reverence for the conſtant league between the two Empires, was perplexed and divided between interfering paſſions. For he was a Prince by nature addicted to lingering, and then particularly, retarded by the revolt of the Hyrcanians, (a very potent nation) and by the long ſeries of wars that followed it. In this ſuſpence he was rouſed by the tydings of a freſh inſult, for that Tigranes having paſſed the limits of Armenia, had waſted the territories of the Adiabenians, a bordering people, with more laſting and extenſive ſpoil than by robbers was wont to be committed: An outrage which the chiefs of theſe nations underwent with painful regret, 'that they were ſunk into ſuch abject ſcorn, as to be over-run, not in truth by the proweſs of any Roman leader, but by the inſolent arms of an hoſtage to Rome, one there kept for ſo many years amongſt his fellow-ſlaves.' The anguiſh of Vologeſes was inflamed by Monobazus, in whoſe hands lay the government of the Adiabenians, and who preſſed to know 'what military ſuccours were there to ſecure them, and from what quarter to be ſought? The fate of Armenia was already determined, the adjacent regions were about to be ſwallowed up; and unleſs they

were

'were defended by the Parthians, they themſelves 'would ſoon conſider, that bondage from the Ro- 'mans proved always much lighter to ſuch as ſub- 'mitted to mercy, than to thoſe who ſtaid to be 'ſubdued.' Tiridates too, who was a fugitive from his Kingdom, affected Vologeſes yet more grievouſly, whether he beheld the ſilent diſtreſs of his brother, or heard his reſpectful complainings. For the deprived Prince was wont to alledge, 'that 'mighty Empires were not to be ſuſtained by ſloth 'and inaction; the vigour of men and arms was 'to be exerted. In ſovereign fortune, thoſe mea- 'ſures were ever moſt righteous, which proved 'moſt ſucceſsful. To thoſe in a private ſtation be- 'longed the narrow domeſtic ambition of preſerv- 'ing their own; to ſtruggle for the poſſeſſions of 'others, was renown truly monarchical.'

Vologeſes, therefore, ſtimulated by all theſe con- ſiderations, aſſembled a council, and placing Tiri- dates next to himſelf, began thus; 'This Prince, 'begotten by the ſame father with myſelf, I inveſt- 'ed with the poſſeſſion of Armenia, ſince to me, 'in regard of primogeniture, it was his lot to 'yield the ſovereignty of Parthia; and thus he be- 'came what we account the third ſovereign of our 'blood. For Pacorus already occupied the realm 'of Media. By this means, I ſeemed to have hap- 'pily ſettled our family, and provided againſt the 'ancient hate and competition of brothers. This 'the Romans oppoſe, and though they never in- 'fringed the peace with any felicity to themſelves, 'they now again openly break it, doubtleſs to their 'own bane and confuſion. I am far from deny- 'ing that rather by arguments than arms, would 'I chuſe to preſerve the acquiſition of my anceſ- 'tors. If I have been blameable in my delays, I 'will redouble my vigour. Your glory is unſul- 'lied, your force undiminiſhed; to this praiſe you

'have alſo added that of moderation, a virtue never 'to be ſlighted by the moſt elevated amongſt men, 'and is held by the Gods themſelves in high eſtima-'tion.' As ſoon as he had thus ſpoke, upon the head of Tiridates he ſet the royal diadem, to Moneſes a noble Parthian he delivered a complete band of ſtout horſe, which according to the cuſtom of Monarchy, always attended the perſon of the King; to theſe he added a body of auxiliary Adiabenians, and commanded that General, 'to force 'Tigranes from Armenia.' He purpoſed himſelf the while to drop his conteſt with the Hyrcanians, to amaſs all his forces in the heart of Parthia, and reſerving to his own conduct the main ſtreſs of the war, to advance, and threaten a deſcent into the Roman provinces.

Corbulo, as ſoon as by certain intelligence he had learnt all theſe proceedings, ſent two Legions to ſuccour Tigranes, under the command of Verulanus Severus, and Vettius Bolanus, with ſecret injunctions, 'rather to ſtudy delays than to act with diſ-'patch.' The truth was, Corbulo aimed more at keeping a war on foot, than puſhing it to a concluſion; beſides, he had written to Nero, 'That, in 'order to defend Armenia, another General was 'neceſſary; for that Syria, now threatened with 'a terrible tempeſt from Vologeſes, was thence ex-'poſed to more vehement danger.' In the mean while he diſpoſed the remaining Legions along the banks of the Euphrates, ſuddenly raiſed a body of militia out of the natives of the province; at all the paſſes he poſted guards, to obſtruct the inroads of the enemy; and, becauſe that region is ſcanty of water, over the ſeveral fountains forts were erected, and ſome ſprings he buried under hills of ſand.

While Corbulo was thus buſied in meaſures for ſecuring Syria, Moneſes advanced towards Armenia, with rapid marches, as by them he meant to outrun the report of his coming: but, he found Tigranes

granes neither void of intelligence, nor in a negligent ſituation; for that Prince had poſſeſſed himſelf of Tigranocerta, a city of great ſtrength in the multitude of its defenders, and the mightineſs of its walls. Add, that the Nicephorus, a river of no ſmall breadth, environed great part of the wall, and round the reſt, where the defence of the river was not truſted, a vaſt trench was drawn. Within it too was a garriſon of ſoldiers, and ſtores of proviſion before laid up. In bringing in theſe proviſions ſome few ſoldiers, having out of greedineſs ſtraggled too far, fell into the hands of the ſwift and unexpected foe; but by this miſhap of theirs, the minds of the reſt became filled with reſentment, rather than with diſmay. Neither have the Parthians any bravery to venture a cloſe attack upon a place beſieged: it was but a few ſcattering arrows that they ſhot, nor thence at all diſmayed the beſieged, but only baffled themſelves. The Adiabenians when, with ladders and engines of battery, they began to approach the walls, were eaſily driven back, and by an immediate ſally of our men, put to the ſlaughter.

Corbulo however, though all his proceedings proſpered, judging it wiſdom to moderate the career of his good fortune, diſpatched embaſſadors to Vologeſes to expoſtulate with him upon his hoſtile conduct, 'That he had with violence and war fallen 'upon a Roman Province; that his forces beſieged 'a King who was a friend and confederate of Rome; 'nay, beſieged the Roman Cohorts themſelves;' and to warn him, 'that either he muſt abandon 'the ſiege, or Corbulo too would inſtantly march 'and encamp upon the territories of the enemy.' Caſperius the Centurion, who was delegated to execute this embaſſy, reached the King at the city of Niſibis, thirty-ſeven miles diſtant from Tigranocerta, and there delivered his meſſage with great ſternneſs.

neſs. It was, in truth, long ſince the politic drift of Vologeſes, and thoroughly riveted in his heart, to avoid engaging with the arms of Rome; neither did his preſent enterprizes advance with any meaſure of ſucceſs; fruitleſs and vain had been the ſiege of Tigranocerta; Tigranes ſat ſecure and ſtrong in men and proviſions; they who had undertaken to ſtorm the walls, were utterly routed; two Legions were ſent to the relief of Armenia; the remaining Legions covered Syria, nay, ſtood ready for an offenſive war, and to invade the dominions of Parthia; his whole cavalry, through ſcarcity of forage, were miſerably enfeebled; for ſuch an infinite flight of locuſts had fallen, as utterly devoured the whole crop of the earth and every green thing. Smothering, however, his dread, and aſſuming a guiſe of moderation, he returned for anſwer, 'That he would 'ſend Embaſſadors to Rome, to ſue to Cæſar for a 'conceſſion of the Kingdom of Armenia, and to 'corroborate the peace between them.' And inſtantly commanding Moneſes to relinquiſh the ſiege of Tigranocerta, he departed himſelf homewards again.

Theſe quick changes were by many extolled, as 'events altogether honourable, purely atchieved 'by the menaces of Corbulo, and the diſmay of 'the King.' Others explained the whole 'into a 'ſecret compact between them, that the war being 'dropped on both ſides, and Vologeſes withdraw-'ing from Armenia, Tigranes too ſhould depart 'that Kingdom. Upon what motives elſe was the 'Roman army led out of Tigranocerta? Why, in 'a time of inaction, were thoſe places abandoned, 'which during war were ſtrenuouſly defended? 'Had the troops found, in the remoteſt parts of 'Cappadocia, more commodious winter quarters, 'under huts ſuddenly raiſed, than in the capital of 'a Kingdom juſt before carefully kept and protect-

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'ed? Without all doubt, the war was therefore 'ſuſpended, that upon ſome other Commander than 'Corbulo the lot might fall of meeting Volo-'geſes in the field; nor would Corbulo expoſe to 'new riſques that renown and glory which for ſo 'many years he had been acquiring.' For, as I have already obſerved, he had demanded that a General ſhould be ſent for the particular defence of Armenia, and heard that Cæſennius Pætus was approaching with that character. Cæſennius was, in truth, already arrived, and the forces ſo divided, that under the command of Pætus were to remain the fourth Legion and the twelfth, to which was added the fifth, lately called thither from Mœſia, as alſo the auxiliaries from Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia; with Corbulo were to continue the third, ſixth, and tenth Legions, and what forces formerly belonged to Syria. All other particulars they were to poſſeſs in common, or to ſhare, juſt as the public ſervice required. But, as Corbulo could not bear a competitor; ſo Pætus, to whom it was doubtleſs abundant glory, if in merit he were reckoned the ſecond, diſparaged all the atchievements of Corbulo; he affirmed, 'That, in all his exploits, 'nothing of hoſtile blood was ſpilled, nothing of 'ſpoil was taken; and all the boaſted praiſe of 'maſtering and aſſaulting cities, was merely nomi-'nal and aſſumed. For himſelf, he would impoſe 'upon the vanquiſhed tribute and laws; and, in-'ſtead of the preſent ſhadow of a King, ſubject 'them at once to the juriſdiction of Rome.'

At this very juncture, the Embaſſadors of Vologeſes, the ſame, whom I have mentioned to have been ſent to the Prince, returned unſucceſsful. Hence the Parthians proceeded to open war, nor did Pætus decline it; but, with two Legions, the fourth and twelfth, the former then commanded by Famiſulanus Vectonianus, the other by Calviſius Sabinus,

he entered Armenia, and a ſad preſage accompanied his entrance; for, in paſſing over the Euphrates, which he croſſed upon a bridge, the horſe which carried the Conſular ornaments, became frightened without any apparent cauſe, and ſtarting back again, got clear away: Moreover, as they were fortifying their quarters againſt winter, a victim which ſtood by the works, before the ſame were above half finiſhed, broke violently through, leaped over the pale, and fled. The javelins too of our men blazed with ſpontaneous fire, a prodigy which appeared the more ſignal, for that with javelins and ſuch weapons miſſive their enemies the Parthians always fight.

But all theſe omens were contemned by Pætus, who, before his winter encampment was yet ſufficiently fortified, without preparing any the leaſt magazine of grain, hurried the army over the mountain Taurus, 'to recover, as he ſaid, the city of 'Tigranocerta, and lay waſte the ſeveral regions 'which Corbulo had ſpared.' And it is true that he took certain caſtles, ſomewhat of glory too he won, and ſomewhat of plunder, if he had either poſſeſſed his glory with moderation, or his plunder with care. But while with long marches, he overran countries which could not poſſibly be maintained, what proviſions he had pillaged, became corrupted and ſpoiled, and the winter was juſt overtaking him, ſo that he led back the army to their quarters. There he compoſed letters to Nero, in a pompous ſtile, as if the war had been already concluded; but as to any available performances, his letters were empty and vain.

Corbulo, the while, ſat down upon the banks of the Euphrates, a ſtation which he had never neglected; he now particularly multiplied the guards which defended it. And, that the enemy's troops, who with great oſtentation and numbers were prancing over the oppoſite plains, might create no obſtruc-

ſtruction to his laying a bridge over the river, he faſtened together with great beams, certain veſſels of vaſt bulk. Upon them he reared large towers, and ſteering this armed float to and fro upon the ſtream, did thence with engines of battery annoy and diſſipate the Barbarians, upon whom by this means were poured volleys of ſtones and darts, at a greater diſtance than could be equalled by the flight of arrows by them returned. Thereafter, the bridge was extended quite over; the oppoſite hills were immediately poſſeſſed by the confederate Cohorts, and upon them the Legions next pitched their camp. All which was executed with ſuch celerity, and ſuch a formidable diſplay of forces, that the Parthians intirely abandoned their diſpoſitions for invading Syria, and turned all their hopes and efforts towards Armenia.

There abode Pætus, in ſuch utter ignorance of the impending tempeſt, that he ſtill kept the fifth Legion at ſo great a diſtance as Pontus, and had weakened the reſt, by allowing the ſoldiers, without reſtriction, leave to be abſent. In this ſituation he received the news, that Vologeſes advanced with a mighty hoſt, breathing terror and vengeance. Forthwith he called to him the twelfth Legion; but this very thing, from whence he hoped the reputation of having augmented his army, betrayed their thinneſs: Yet they ſtill might have maintained their camp, and by protracting the war, have baffled all the efforts of the Parthians, if in the ſpirit of Pætus there had been any firmneſs, either in adhering to his own counſel, or to the counſels of others. But whenever by officers of experience he ſeemed fixed in his meaſures againſt ſuch preſſing dangers, preſently after, that he might not ſeem to want the judgment of any man, he lapſed into courſes which were different, and always worſe. At this very juncture he wilfully departed out of the entrench-

ments which incloſed their winter quarters, and uttering brave words, ‘ That, in order to repulſe the ‘ foe, to him was committed neither ditch nor pale, ‘ but the bodies and arms of men;’ he led forth the Legions, like one who would needs encounter the Parthians in battle. But having loſt a Centurion and a few private men, whom he had ſent forward to view the enemy's forces, he returned to his camp in great haſte and affright: Yet ſeeing Vologeſes had purſued his advantage with no remarkable ardour, Pætus became once more infatuated with vain confidence, and upon the next ſummit of mount Taurus placed three thouſand ſelect infantry, to repulſe the King from paſſing it. He likewiſe committed a particular part of the plain to the troops of Panonia, which were the ſtrength of his cavalry. His wife and ſon he ſhut up in a caſtle named Arſamoſata, and for garriſoning the caſtle, gave them a band of five hundred men. Thus he diſperſed his army, who, had they been in a body, might with more vigour have ſuſtained the ſhock of a roving and inconſtant enemy: Nay, it is ſaid, that he was with great difficulty induced to tranſmit to Corbulo any account of the enemy's diſtreſſing him. Neither did Corbulo make much diſpatch, that the more the danger increaſed, the greater praiſe he might reap from bringing relief. He gave orders however to make ready a body of ſuccours conſiſting of three thouſand Legionary ſoldiers (one from each of the three Legions) of eight hundred horſe, and an equal number of foot detached from the Cohorts.

Vologeſes, though he was adviſed, that Pætus beſet the roads on every hand, here with his infantry, there with his horſe, yet no wiſe varied his deſign or his march, but, with a violent onſet, and oſtentation of terrors, quite diſmayed and drove away the Pannonian troops; the Legionary foot poſted upon Taurus he utterly overthrew, and found reſiſt-

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ance from one Centurion only, namely, Tarquitius Creſcens, who had the bravery to defend a tower, in which he kept garriſon? He even made frequent ſallies, and ſuch of the Barbarians who ventured to approach, he ſlew, till at laſt he was aſſaulted and overwhelmed by volleys of flaming matter. Such of the infantry as eſcaped unhurt, betook themſelves to wild and remote deſerts, and the wounded recovered the camp: There they publiſhed 'the ſignal 'bravery of the Parthian King, the multitudes and 'barbarity of the ſeveral nations his followers,' and, through the impulſe of their own fears, magnified exceſſively whatever inſpired them: all which was ſwallowed with ready credulity by the reſt, who were themſelves poſſeſſed with the ſame terrors. Nor in truth did the General make any efforts to repel this torrent of adverſity: he had already deſerted all the duties of war, and again diſpatched more entreaties to Corbulo, 'to come with ſpeed, 'and ſave the Roman Enſigns and Eagles; to ſave 'the name and remains of an unhappy army, who 'with himſelf would, while their lives remained, 'honour their deliverer with perfect faith and gra-'titude.'

Corbulo was no wiſe daunted, and, leaving part of his forces in Syria to maintain the poſts which he had fortified upon the Euphrates; began the ſhorteſt rout, where no hazard was incurred of lacking proviſions; firſt through Comagena, then through Cappadocia, and thence into Armenia. There accompanied his army, beſides other implements uſual in war, a huge train of camels loaded with grain, thence to repel famine as well as the foe. The firſt that he met of thoſe who were routed, was Pactius a Centurion of principal rank: After him came ſeveral common ſoldiers, who, while they ſtrove to cover the ſhame of their flight, each by a different excuſe, were by Corbulo admoniſhed

'to return to their colours, and try the mercy of 'Pætus: for his particular, he owned himself im- 'placable to all who in battle came not off victo- 'rious.' At the same time he addressed himself to his own Legions, from rank to rank, persuading and exhorting, reminded them of their exploits and victories past, and to their present view exhibited a scene of fresh glory; 'Not now the villages and 'cities of the Armenians were to be possessed as the 'recompence of their services and hardships, but 'the Roman Camp to be saved, and in it two Ro- 'man Legions. If every private soldier were, for 'saving the life of a citizen, distinguished with 'the lustre of a Civic Crown publicly presented by 'the hand of his General; how much more sig- 'nal and extensive must be the renown, when the 'lives preserved, and they who preserve them, 'were thus equally numerous?' By these and the like stimulations, they became fired with alacrity for the common cause; besides, some were prompt- ed by personal incitements, even the distresses and dangers in which their brothers, or their compani- ons and kinsmen, were involved. So that they sped their march night and day, without intermission.

Hence the more vehemently did Vologeses press the besieged, now assaulting the entrenchment of the Legions, then the castle in which were guarded those who from the tenderness of their sex and years were unfit for the roughness and toils of war; and he pushed these his assaults much more closely than was usual to the Parthians, in hopes by such de- signed temerity to tempt out the enemy to a bat- tle. But they, with all these insults, could scarce be dragged out of their tents, at most only en- deavoured to maintain their works, part of them submitting to the orders and restrictions of their General, others resigned to their own cowardice, as men who stupidly waited for deliverance from

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Corbulo; or if the power of the aſſailants in the mean while prevailed, they had already provided themſelves with examples to follow, namely, the behaviour of two old Roman armies overthrown, one at Caudium in Italy, the other at Numantia in Spain: 'for that, neither were the Samnites (a 'ſingle Italian ſtate) nor were the Spaniards, either 'of them maſters of forces comparable to thoſe of 'the Parthians, a mighty Empire, rival with that 'of Rome! nay, thoſe ſame ancients, ſo very brave 'and ſtubborn, and ſo much extolled, as often as 'fortune forſook them, were ever ſupple enough to 'conſult ſelf-preſervation.' By the temper of the army, thus abandoned to deſpair, the General was conſtrained to write to Vologeſes; yet, the firſt letter which he ſent contained nothing of ſupplicancy or abaſement, but was conceived in a ſtrain of expoſtulation and complaint, 'That for the 'Kingdom of Armenia he ſhould thus exerciſe the 'violences of enmity and war; a country ever ſub-'ject to the Roman juriſdiction, or to a King ap-'pointed by the Emperor of Rome. Peace was, 'in truth, alike advantageous to the Parthians and 'to the Romans; neither ought he to view only 'the preſent ſituation of things; but remember that 'againſt two Legions he was come at the head of 'the whole power of his Kingdom, while to the 'Romans remained, for the ſupport of the war, 'all the reſt of the globe.'

Vologeſes, without entering at all into the merit of the war, in anſwer to the repreſentation, wrote back, 'That he muſt wait the coming of his bro-'thers, Pacorus and Tiridates; as to them was re-'ſerved the appointment of a place and time for 'adjuſting ſuch meaſures concerning Armenia, as 'became their own high character, and the gran-'deur of the Arſacides; at the ſame time too, 'they would determine how to deal with the Ro-

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'man Legions.' Pætus again diſpatched a meſſage, and deſired a conference with the King, who, in his own ſtead, deputed Vaſaces, his General of horſe. At this interview Pætus urged examples, and repreſented 'ſuch Roman Captains as Lucullus 'and Pompey, and ſince ſome of the Cæſars, ac-'quiring and beſtowing the Realm of Armenia.' Vaſaces alledged, 'That indeed the name and ſha-'dow of holding and conferring it, reſted in us Ro-'mans, but in the Parthians the eſſential power.' After much mutual conteſtation, Monobazus the Adiabenian was the next day joined with them, as a witneſs to their ſtipulations, and between them it was agreed, 'That the Legions ſhould be releaſed 'from the leaguer, all the Roman troops utterly 'depart the territories of Armenia, all their fort-'reſſes and ſtores be delivered up to the Parthians. 'Then, after complete performance of theſe con-'ceſſions, Vologeſes ſhould have free privilege to 'ſend Embaſſadors to Nero.'

In the mean time, Pætus laid a bridge over the river Arſanias, which flowed along his camp, under pretext of his preparing to march off that way; but it was, in reality, a work enjoined him by the Parthians, as a monument and confeſſion of their victory, ſince to them only it was of uſe; for our men took a different rout. All this diſgrace was heightened by public rumour, which added, that 'the Legions had paſſed like captives under a gal-'lows,' with many other diſaſtrous circumſtances, ſuch as are wont to accompany diſtreſs. And it is true, that of ſuch ignominious treatment ſome ſem-blance was adminiſtered by the inſulting behaviour of the Armenians, who, before the Roman army was yet diſcamped, entered their works, beſet all the avenues and thoroughfares, ſingled out their own captive ſlaves, diſtinguiſhed their loſt beaſts, and reſ-cued both: They even ſtripped the Romans of

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their cloaths, and ſeized their arms, while the poor ſoldiers only trembled and delivered, thus to cut off all provocation and excuſe of involving them in a battle. Vologeſes raiſed a pompous heap of all the arms and bodies of the ſlain, by it to manifeſt our overthrow, but forbore beholding the ſcandalous flight of the Legions, from whence he aimed at acquiring the applauſe of moderation, when he had juſt before ſatiated his pride. He paſſed the river Arſanias mounted upon an elephant, as did all that were near the King in blood or favour, by the vigour of their horſes. For, a report had ſpread that the bridge, by the fraud of the builders, would certainly ſink under any conſiderable preſſure: Though they who ventured over it, experienced it to be a ſtrong and ſecure fabric.

For the reſt; it was notorious that the beleagured army were to the laſt provided with ſuch abundant ſupplies of grain, that they even ſet fire to their ſtore-houſes. And it was by Corbulo recounted, 'That the Parthians, on the contrary, were deſti-'tute of proviſions, and their forage entirely con-'ſumed, ſo that they were about to have forſaken 'the leaguer; neither was he himſelf above three 'days march diſtant with his forces.' He even added, 'That Pætus covenanted, under the tye of 'an oath ſolemnly taken under the ſacred Eagles, 'in the preſence of thoſe whom the King had ſent 'to witneſs it, That no Roman ſhould enter Ar-'menia, till by the arrival of letters from Nero, it 'were known whether he conſented to the peace.' But though ſuch imputations were to paſs only for infamy aggravated, yet the ſubſequent conduct of Pætus and his army is liable to no ambiguity, that in one day they travelled the ſpace of forty miles, that the wounded were every where dropped and forſaken, and that no leſs infamous was the flight and diſmay of thoſe fugitives, than if they had turned

ed their backs and run in the day of battle. Upon the banks of the Euphrates Corbulo with his forces met them, but without ſuch a diſplay of flying colours and glittering arms as might ſeem to upbraid their different and melancholy plight. Sorrowful were his ſeveral bands, and in commiſeration for the heavy lot of their fellow-ſoldiers, could not refrain from a flood of tears; ſcarce were they able to exchange their ſalutations for weeping: All competition about ſuperior bravery was vaniſhed, as well as all ambition for glory; for theſe are the paſſions of happy and proſperous men! here compaſſion only prevailed, and the lower the men, the ſtronger their compaſſion.

Between the two leaders there followed a brief conference, Corbulo lamenting, 'That ſo much 'travel had been fruitleſly beſtowed, when the war 'might have been finiſhed with the utter flight of 'the Parthians.' The other replied, 'That the 'affairs of Armenia remained perfectly as they 'were. Let us, ſaid he, turn about our Eagles, 'and invade it in concert, enfeebled as it is by 'the departure of Vologeſes.' Corbulo alledged, 'That from the Emperor he had no ſuch orders: 'he had already paſſed out of his Province, from 'no other inducement than to deliver the diſtreſſed 'Legions; and as it was altogether uncertain where 'the next efforts of the Parthians would fall, he 'would retire back into Syria: Even thus they had 'cauſe to invoke the Deity of happy fortune, that 'the foot, which were ſo miſerably ſpent with 'great marches, might be able to come up with 'the Parthian horſe, which were altogether freſh 'and untired, and in travelling eaſily over thoſe 'ſmooth plains, were ſure to out-march them.' Pætus therefore withdrew to Cappadocia, and there wintered. But to Corbulo a meſſage arrived from Vologeſes, 'To withdraw his ſeveral garriſons from

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'beyond the Euphrates, and let the river remain, 'as formerly, the common boundary.' Corbulo too inſiſted, 'That all the Parthian garriſons 'ſhould evacuate Armenia.' And at laſt the King complied. Moreover, all the fortifications raiſed by Corbulo on the other ſide Euphrates, were demoliſhed, and by both the King and Corbulo the Armenians were left to their own diſpoſal and controulment.

But, at Rome the while, they were erecting trophies of victory over the Parthians, and raiſing triumphal arches upon the mount of the Capitol; ſolemnities decreed by the Senate while the war was yet in its height, nor even now diſcontinued, as popular ſhew was only ſtudied, in defiance of conviction and fact. Nay, Nero, in order to diſguiſe all ſollicitude from affairs abroad, ordered the ſtores of grain, which from time to time was diſtributed amongſt the populace, but now corrupted with ſtaleneſs, to be thrown into the Tiber, in oſtentation of the public ſecurity and plenty of proviſions. It is certain, their price became nothing raiſed, notwithſtanding that almoſt two hundred veſſels thus loaded, were by a violent ſtorm ſunk in the very harbour, and a hundred more already arrived in the Tiber, were conſumed by an accidental fire. Thereafter he committed the direction of the public revenue to three Senators of Conſular dignity, Lucius Piſo, Ducennius Geminus, and Pompeius Paullinus, inveighing againſt the Princes his anceſtors, 'for that, 'through the profuſeneſs of their expence and diſ'burſements, they had exceeded their annual re'ceipts; whereas by himſelf the Commonwealth 'was yearly preſented with more than a million of 'crowns.'

There prevailed in thoſe days a peſtilent abuſe, practiſed by men aſpiring and childleſs, who, whenever the election of Magiſtrates, or the allotment of

of Provinces, was at hand, provided themſelves with ſons by fraudulent adoptions; then when in common with real fathers they had obtained Prætorſhips and provincial Governments, they inſtantly diſmiſſed ſuch as they had occaſionally adopted. Hence thoſe who were genuine fathers, betook themſelves with mighty indignation to the Senate: There they repreſented their own 'inherent right 'from nature, their many toils and paternal cares 'beſtowed in education and rearing, in oppoſition 'to the fraud, ſelfiſh devices, and facility of theſe 'adoptions haſtily made, and ſuddenly diſſolved. 'To ſuch as were childleſs, it was abundant com-'penſation, that with much ſecurity, and exempt 'from all anxiety and charge, they could arrive at 'public diſtinction, and honours, and find every 'advantage in the ſtate eaſy and open to their 'wiſhes. For themſelves, the preference enſured 'to them by the law, and by them tediouſly ex-'pected, vaniſhed in mockery, while every man 'had it in his option to become a parent without 'parental tenderneſs and ſolicitude, and fatherleſs 'again without the lamentation and anguiſh of a 'parent, and by the colluſive ceremony of a mo-'ment, arrived at equal emoluments with natural 'fathers, by them ſo long purſued.' This produced a decree of Senate, 'That in the purſuit of 'any public employment whatſoever, no feigned 'adoptions ſhould have influence, nor yet avail in 'claiming eſtates by will.'

What followed was the accuſation and trial of Claudius Timarchus of Crete, who, beſides other exceſſes common to the Grandees of all provinces, elated with overgrown wealth, and thence wantonly prompted to domineer over their inferiors, had uttered an expreſſion, which imported great ſcandal and contumely upon the Senate; as he had often declared, that 'it lay in his power, whether the

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'proconſuls who had obtained the government of 'Crete, ſhould receive for their adminiſtration the 'public thanks;' an occaſion which Pætus Thraſea ſought to improve to the benefit of the public; ſo that, after he had delivered his vote, namely, 'That the accuſed ſhould be baniſhed from Crete,' he added the following ſpeech. 'It is a truth con-'firmed by experience, Conſcript Fathers, that re-'nowned laws and wholeſome precedents are by 'upright patriots derived from the tranſgreſſions and 'delinquency of others: Thus was the Cincian 'law produced by the licentious behaviour of the 'Orators, the Julian ordinances by the caballings 'and efforts of the candidates for public prefer-'ments, and the inſtitutions of Calpurnius the 'Tribune, by the rapaciouſneſs of the Magiſtrates. 'For guilt is ever antecedent to puniſhment, and 'later than the offence comes the correction. To 'quell therefore this freſh inſolence of the Provin-'cials, let us take meaſures worthy of the good 'faith, worthy of the magnanimity of the Romans, 'ſuch as may no wiſe infringe the protection due 'to our confederates, nor yet leave room for any 'Roman to depend for his eſtimation upon other 'judgment than that of his fellow-citizens. Of 'old, indeed, not Prætors and Conſuls only, and 'men in office, were ſent into the Provinces; but 'private perſons inveſted with no magiſtracy, were 'alſo ſent, to inſpect the ſtate of thoſe Provinces 'in general, and to report what they judged meet 'concerning the civil obſervance of every particu-'lar; and by the judgment of ſingle inſpectors na-'tions were awed. But now we court foreigners, 'and flatter them; and as at the beck of ſome one 'of them thanks are decreed to our Magiſtrates, 'from the ſame motive too, but with more facility, 'is their accuſation decreed: Nay, let ſuch accuſa-'tions be ſtill decreed; to the Provincials let there

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'always continue a privilege of making, in ſuch 'inſtances, an oſtentation of their power; but let 'their falſe and groundleſs applauſe, their com-'mendations extorted by importunity and prayers, 'be reſtrained with the ſame rigour as the efforts 'of malice, as the ravages of cruelty. Into hea-'vier defaults we often fall, while we labour to 'oblige, than when we are not afraid to offend. 'There are even certain virtues ſubject to popular 'hate, ſuch as a ſeverity never to be ſhaken, and 'a ſoul impregnable againſt all inſinuation and 'courtſhip. Hence the adminiſtration of our Ma-'giſtrates abroad, is generally beſt at the begin-'ning, but relaxes in the cloſe, while in the ſub-'miſſive manner of candidates for honours at home, 'we ſollicit favourable ſuffrages from the provin-'cials. Now if this depraved cuſtom be effectu-'ally ſuppreſſed, the Provinces will be ruled with 'more impartiality, with greater firmneſs and re-'ſolution: For, as by the terror of the law againſt 'extortion and rapine, the force of avarice in the 'governors is broken, ſo by aboliſhing the uſage of 'giving them public thanks, the court by them 'paid to the Provinces is to be reſtrained.'

Great was the applauſe and univerſal the aſſent, that accompanied this propoſition from Thraſea, which yet could not be reduced into a decree, ſince the Conſuls inſiſted that the ſame was foreign from the queſtion firſt moved. But afterwards, at the motion of the Prince, it was ordained, 'That to 'the general council of the Provinces no man 'ſhould have leave to propoſe a deputation to 'the Senate for public thanks to any Prætorian or 'Proconſular Governor whatſoever; and that no 'man ſhould be allowed to execute ſuch a deputa-'tion.' During the ſame Conſuls, the Athletic Academy was by a blaſt of lightning burnt to ruins, and in it the brazen ſtatue of Nero melted

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to a ſhapeleſs maſs. In Campania too, the noble city which from Pompey takes its name, was in a great meaſure overturned by an earthquake; and this year died Lælia the Veſtal virgin, into whoſe place was aſſumed Cornelia, of the Coſſian family.

In the Conſulſhip of Memmius Regulus and Verginius Rufus, a daughter was by Poppæa born to Nero, and filled him with more than mortal joy, inſomuch, that he named her *Auguſta*, and upon Poppæa conferred the ſame title. The place of her birth was the Colony of Antium, where he himſelf was born. The Senate had before ſolemnly recommended to the Gods the pregnant womb of Poppæa, and for her delivery, undertaken public vows: Now many more were added, and the whole amply fulfilled. Days of devotion, and proceſſions were alſo ſubjoined: a Temple was decreed to 'Fecundity, with Athletic ſports in imitation of 'thoſe which were peculiar to Antium; moreover, 'that in the throne of Jupiter Capitolinus ſhould 'be placed golden images of the Fortunes; and 'that at Antium, in honour to the Claudian and 'Domitian families, Circenſian games ſhould be 'celebrated, as at the ſuburbs Bovillæ they were 'in diſtinction to the Julian race.' But all theſe proved fleeting memorials; for within four months the infant expired: From whence aroſe freſh ſallies of flattery; ſince deification was voted to her, with 'divine worſhip, a tabernacle, chapel, and prieſt.' For the Emperor, as he had rejoiced, ſo he ſorrowed, beyond all meaſure. It was a particular univerſally obſerved, that when juſt upon the delivery of Poppæa, the Senate in a body flocked with congratulations to Antium, Thraſea was by Nero reſtrained from accompanying them; a contumely which, though it foreboded his impending deſtruction, he yet received with a ſpirit perfectly undiſmayed. It was reported that Nero afterwards vaunted

ed to Seneca his own clemency and reconciliation to Thraſea, and that to Nero in return Seneca expreſſed his gladneſs and thanks. Hence freſh glory accrued to theſe illuſtrious patriots, and by it higher obnoxiouſneſs and danger.

During theſe tranſactions, there arrived in the beginning of ſpring, Embaſſadors from the Parthians, charged with overtures from Vologeſes their King, and with letters in the ſame ſtrain, that he now voluntarily relinquiſhed 'all his former meaſures ſo often conteſted, about the enjoyment of Armenia, 'ſince the Gods, though they were the ſovereign 'arbitrator between potent ſtates, and had yielded the poſſeſſion of it to the Parthians, yet ſo 'yielded it, that thence ignominy devolved upon 'the Romans. He had lately held Tigranes block-'ed up in a ſiege, then Pætus and the Legions; 'and when it was in his power to have deſtroyed 'them, it was his choice to diſmiſs them unhurt. 'He had ſufficiently diſplayed his forces and might, 'and exhibited too a glaring proof of his moderation. Neither would his brother Tiridates re-'fuſe coming to Rome, there to receive the Armenian diadem; but that as he was a Magian, 'the character of his Prieſthood with-held him: 'He was ready, however, to addreſs himſelf to the 'Roman Enſigns, and to the images of Cæſar, 'and there, in preſence of the Legions, receive 'the ſolemn inveſtiture of the Kingdom.'

When theſe letters of Vologeſes were read, ſo oppoſite to the account tranſmitted by Pætus, as if things remained entirely in the ſame ſituation; the Centurion, who had arrived with the Embaſſadors, was asked, 'In what condition ſtood the 'Kingdom of Armenia?' he anſwered, that 'all 'the Romans were to a man withdrawn from 'thence:' and as hence was underſtood the ſcorn offered by the Barbarians, thus ſuing for a country

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which they had already ſeized, Nero held a conſultation with the principal Grandees, whether to engage in a perilous war, or prefer an infamous peace; nor was there any heſitation in reſolving upon war; and to Corbulo, who by the experience of ſo many years, knew both the ſoldiery and the enemy, the ſupreme command was committed, leſt through the temerity and unskilfulneſs of any other, more faults and diſgrace might be incurred; for, of Pætus and his conduct they were ſorely aſhamed. The Embaſſadors were therefore diſmiſſed unſucceſsful, but diſtinguiſhed with preſents, thence to raiſe hopes that, were Tiridates to bring his own ſupplications, he would not ſupplicate in vain. To Seſtius was given the adminiſtration of Syria, and to Corbulo were granted all the military forces there, which were alſo increaſed by the addition of the fifteenth Legion, led by Marius Celſus, from Pannonia. Directions were likewiſe written to the Kings and Tetrarchs in the Eaſt, to the Deputies and Superintendents, and to the ſeveral Proprætors who ruled the neighbouring Provinces, 'to pay entire obedience to the orders of Corbulo,' who was thus truſted with much the ſame extenſive authority, which the Roman people had conferred upon Pompey in his expedition againſt the Pirates. Upon the return of Pætus to Rome, while he was dreading a more rigorous treatment, Nero deemed it ſufficient to laſh him with railleries in this manner; 'I pardon you, ſaid he, inſtantly, leſt, with 'that ſtrange propenſity to fear, you might pine 'away, were your anxiety ever ſo little protracted.'

Now when Corbulo had removed into Syria the fourth and twelfth Legions, which, from the loſs of all their braveſt men, and the conſternation of the reſt, were judged little qualified for feats of war; he drew from that Province the ſixth Legion and the third, a body of men freſh and undiminiſhed,

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hardened by variety of military toils, and accuſtomed to proſperous exploits, and led them to Armenia. To them he added the fifth, which being quartered in Pontus had eſcaped the late defeat. Moreover, the ſoldiers of the fifteenth Legion lately arrived, and ſome choſen bands from Illyrium and Ægypt, with all the auxiliary troops of horſe and companies of foot, as alſo the ſuccours from the confederate Kings, were drawn together at Melitene, as from thence he had concerted their paſſing the Euphrates. He then purified the army by the uſual ſolemnity of Luſtration, and in a ſtated aſſembly animated them with a ſpeech: In it he made a glorious diſplay 'of the auſpicious ſway and invincible fortune 'of Cæſar; of the ſignal exploits by himſelf at-'chieved;' and upon the ſimple conduct of Pætus he caſt 'whatever contumelies or diſaſters had been 'ſuſtained.' Theſe things he delivered with great ſpirit and authority, which, in a military man like him, carried all the force of eloquence.

He took next the ſame rout which of old was paſſed by Lucullus, having removed whatever impediments, in ſo long a courſe of years, had cloſed up the way: Neither did he diſcountenance the Embaſſadors, who were approaching from Tiridates and Vologeſes, with overtures of peace; but, to confer with them, appointed certain Centurions, whom he furniſhed with inſtructions no wiſe harſh; namely, 'That as yet the conteſt was not riſen 'to ſuch height as that nothing could determine 'it, but the deciſion of the ſword. The Roman 'arms had in many inſtances been proſperous, in 'ſome the Parthian; whence a leſſon might be 'drawn againſt arrogance and preſumption in either. 'It moreover concerned the intereſt of Tiridates to 'poſſeſs a Kingdom untouched by the ravages of 'war, by accepting it as the gift of the Romans: 'more ſubſtantially too would Vologeſes ſtudy the

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'advantage of the people of Parthia by an alliance 'with the Romans, than by involving both in mu- 'tual damages and miſchief. It was well known 'what terrible revolts were then rending the bowels 'of his Monarchy, as alſo what fierce and unruly 'nations he governed. To the Roman Emperor, 'on the contrary, there continued in all his domi- 'nions a ſteady peace, and only the weight of that 'ſingle war.' To enforce his reaſoning, he immediately ſubjoined the terrors of the ſword, drove from their ſeats the Grandees of Armenia, who were the firſt revolters from us, razed their caſtles, and filled with equal diſmay the inhabitants of the mountains and thoſe of the vales, the warriors, and the unwarlike.

The name of Corbulo was held in no diſtaſte, much leſs in hoſtile hate, even amongſt the Barbarians; hence they believed his counſel worthy to be truſted. Vologeſes, therefore, who was never violent for a general war with the Romans, now fought a truce for certain of his Governments. Tiridates demanded a day and place for a conference; and a time near at hand was appointed: For the place, as the Barbarians choſe that where they had lately beſieged Pætus and the Legions, from a fond remembrance of their more propitious atchievements there, the ſame was not declined by Corbulo, that from the different face of his own fortune, his glory might be augmented. Yet neither ſuffered he the diſgrace of Pætus there to be blackened with any freſh reproach; a tenderneſs chiefly manifeſt from hence, that he ordered the ſon of Pætus, one of his own Tribunes, to march at the head of ſome companies and commit to ſepulchres the ghoſtly remains of that unfortunate field. Upon the day ſtipulated, Tiberius Alexander an illuſtrious Roman Knight, one ſent with Corbulo as an aſſiſtant and inſpector, in the meaſures of the war, and with

him, Vivianus Annius, ſon-in-law to Corbulo, one under the age of a Senator, but ſet over the fifth Legion in the room of its own Commander, entered together into the camp of Tiridates, as a compliment of honour, and that, poſſeſſed of ſuch hoſtages, he might fear no guile. Then the King and the General took each twenty horſe and proceeded to the interview. At the ſight of Corbulo, the King leaped firſt from his horſe, nor was Corbulo ſlow to return the courteſy, and both, on foot, interchanged their right hands.

Thence the Roman Captain proceeded to applaud the young Prince, 'that, renouncing all deſperate meaſures, he had adopted ſuch as were wholſome and ſecure.' Tiridates, after a long diſplay 'of the ſplendor of his race,' purſued the reſt of his diſcourſe with ſufficient modeſty and condeſcenſion; 'That he would travel to Rome and preſent a new ſubject of glory to Cæſar, a Prince of the Arſacides his ſupplicant, at a ſeaſon when no public diſtreſs impaired the affairs of Parthia.' It was then agreed that before the image of Cæſar he ſhould reſign the Royal Diadem, never to reſume it more, except from the hand of Nero; thus ended the conference with a mutual kiſs. Then after an interval of a few days, the two armies met with mighty pomp and oſtentation on both ſides. There ſtood the Parthian horſe, ranged into troops, and diſtinguiſhed by the ſtandards of their ſeveral nations; here were poſted the battalions of the Legions, their Eagles glittering, their Enſigns diſplayed, with the figures of the deified Emperors exhibited like Deities in a Temple. In the center was placed a tribunal, which ſupported a chair of ſtate, as did the chair a ſtatue of Nero: To this Tiridates approached, and having, according to form, ſlain certain victims, pulled the Diadem from his head and laid it at the feet of the Statue.

Great

Great upon this occaſion were the emotions in the minds of all men; and the greater as they had ſtill before their eyes the late overthrow, at leaſt the late ſiege of the Roman armies: 'But now, in-'tirely inverted were the operations of fortune; 'Tiridates was departing for Rome, expoſed as a 'ſpectacle to the nations, under a character how 'little below that of a captive?'

Corbulo, to all his glory, added actions of complaiſance and a ſumptuous banquet; during which the King, as often as any uſage of ours, new to him, occurred, was aſſiduous to know what the ſame might mean; why a Centurion advertiſed the General, when the watch was firſt ſet? why, when meals were ended the trumpet ſounded? why the fuel upon the altar reared before the Augural port, was kindled with a torch? all which Corbulo explained, and heightening all beyond juſt bounds, ſtruck him with admiration of the ancient inſtitutions of the Romans. The next day, Tiridates beſought 'ſo much time, before he undertook ſo 'long a journey, as might ſuffice to viſit his brothers 'and his mother;' and, for an hoſtage, delivered up his daughter, and writ a ſupplicant letter to Nero.

Thus he departed, and found Pacorus in Media, and at Ecbatana Vologeſes, who, in truth, was far from neglecting the concerns of this his brother: For, by a ſpecial embaſſy he had deſired of Corbulo, 'That Tiridates might bear no viſible ſemblance 'of ſlavery; nor be obliged to ſurrender his ſword, 'nor be debarred from the diſtinction of embracing 'the Governors of Provinces; nor ſtand waiting 'at their gates for admittance; and, that in Rome, 'the ſame honour ſhould be paid him as to the Con-'ſuls was paid.' In truth, that Prince, inured to the pride which prevails among foreigners, was a ſtranger to the maxims of us Romans, who ſtudy

the energy of Empire, and overlook the ſhadows and empty forms.

The ſame year, Cæſar conferred upon thoſe nations of the Alps who inhabit the ſea coaſt, the rights and immunities of Latium: To the Roman Knights he aſſigned places in the Circus before the ſeats of the populace; for, till that time they ſat there without diſcrimination, as the ſanctions of the Roſcian law were only confined to the fourteen rows in the Theatre. On this year too was exhibited a combat of Gladiators equally magnificent with the former; but many Ladies of illuſtrious quality, and many Senators, by entering the liſts, infamouſly ſtained themſelves.

In the Conſulſhip of Caius Lecanius and Marcus Licinius, Nero became every day more tranſported with a paſſion for mounting the public ſtage, and entertaining the promiſcuous multitude: For hitherto he had only ſung in the aſſemblies entituled *Juvenalia*, which were reſtrained to particular houſes and gardens; places which he deſpiſed, as not ſufficiently celebrated, and too confined for a voice ſo ſignal as his. At Rome, however, he dared not to begin, but choſe Naples, the ſame being a Greek city, 'where having made his firſt eſſay, he would paſs 'thence over to Greece, and there having, by victory in ſong, gained the prize-crowns, ever ſo 'highly renowned and held ſacred of old, he could 'not fail of attracting, with heightened applauſe, 'the hearts of the Roman citizens.' To this entertainment crowded all the rabble of Neapolitans, with numbers from the neighbouring cities and colonies, excited by the rumour and curioſity of the ſpectacle; beſides ſuch as followed the Emperor, either in compliment to him, or about private affairs of their own: Nay, with theſe entered ſeveral bands of ſoldiers, and all together thronged the Theatre; where an accident befel, which, in the opinion of many,

many, was ſad and preſaging; but with Nero it paſſed for a providential event, and betokened the tutelage of his guardian Deities: The Theatre, when the audience who filled it were retired, tumbled to the ground, but as not a ſoul was in it, none were hurt by its ruins. For this deliverance Nero celebrated the benignity of the Gods in ſongs of thankſgiving purpoſely compoſed, as alſo the ſtory and deſcription of the recent contingency. Then in his rout to paſs the Adriatic, he reſted a while at Beneventum, where by Vatinius was preſented a ſplendid ſhew of Gladiators. This Vatinius was one of the many baleful monſters that haunted the court, and one of the foremoſt, originally bred in a ſhoemaker's ſtall, in his perſon hideous and diſtorted, addicted to ſneering and drollery, and at firſt admitted merely as a buffoon; thence, by lying accuſations againſt every worthy man, he had arrived to ſuch high conſideration, that in favour, in opulence, and in power to injure and deſtroy, he even ſurpaſſed the other implements of miſchief.

Nero, during the courſe of this ſolemnity, though he attended it aſſiduouſly, forbore not however, even in the midſt of his diverſion and pleaſures, to purſue feats of blood; ſince, in thoſe very days of feſtivity, Torquatus Silanus was forced to die, for that, beſides the ancient ſplendor of the Junian family, he was great grandſon to the deified Auguſtus. Againſt him the accuſers had orders to object, 'his 'great prodigality and bounties; and that other 'reſource and views he had none remaining, ſave 'only in a public revolution. Nay, already he 'kept about him men with the ſtile of principal 'Secretaries, of Chancellors, of Treaſurers, names 'and offices of Imperial grandeur, which he thus 'aſpired to, and even perſonated.' Immediately, all his freedmen, in any degree of intimacy with their maſter, were caſt into bonds, and hurried to

the dungeon. Torquatus, ſeeing his impending condemnation, opened the veins of both his arms, and expired; an event which was followed, according to cuſtom, with a ſpeech from Nero; 'That 'however guilty the criminal had been, how juſtly 'ſoever he had deſpaired of acquitting himſelf by 'any defence, his life had ſtill been ſpared had he 'ſtaid for the clemency of his Judge.'

Nero having deferred his voyage to Greece, for reaſons which were not known, ſoon after re-viſited Rome, his head buſied with many imaginations, all ſmothered at firſt, about ſhewing himſelf to the Provinces in the eaſt, eſpecially to Ægypt: At laſt this project became the ſubject of a public edict. In it he declared, that 'his abſence would not be of 'long continuance, and the Common-wealth, in 'all its parts, would continue the while in the ſame 'perfect quiet and proſperity;' then for the ſucceſs of that journey, he betook himſelf in devotion to the Capitol. While he was there, paying his oblations to the ſeveral Deities, as he entered amongſt others, into the Temple of Veſta, he became ſeized with a ſudden and prevailing horror, which ſhook him in every joint; whether the awe of the Goddeſs ſtruck him with diſmay; or whether, from the remembrance of his foulneſs and crimes, he was ever haunted by terrors, it is certain that he droped his project, making many aſſeverations, 'That 'lighter with him were all his purſuits than his 'paſſion for his Country: He had ſeen the ſorrowful looks of the Roman citizens, he ſtill heard 'their ſecret complainings, that he would venture 'upon ſuch mighty travels, when in truth, they 'could never bear even his ſhorteſt excurſions from 'Rome; as they were accuſtomed to be revived 'under all diſaſters, by the joyful ſight of the 'Prince. Hence it was that as in private conſanguinities and friendſhip, deareſt in affection were

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'the neareſt in blood, ſo over himſelf above all 'conſiderations availed that of the Roman people; 'and when they would thus retain him, it behoved 'him to obey.' Theſe and the like declarations of his were well pleaſing to the populace, from their propenſity to the revels and diverſions, and from another motive ever the moſt prevalent of all, the ſcarcity of proviſions apprehended in his abſence. The Senate and Grandees were in ſuſpence whether he were to be eſteemed a more raging tyrant at Rome, or remote from Rome; and thence, according to the genius of all great and affecting fears, they believed what happened, to be the worſt that could happen.

Nero himſelf, in order to gain a reputation of delighting, above all places, in Rome, banquetted frequently in the public places, and great ſquares, and uſed the whole city as his own houſe. But, as particularly ſignal for luxury and popular obſervation, was the feaſt prepared by Tigellinus; I ſhall here, for an example, recount its order and ſtate, that henceforth I may not be obliged to a frequent recital of the like enormous prodigalities. For this purpoſe, he built, in the lake of Agrippa, a large veſſel which contained the banquet, and was itſelf drawn by other veſſels with oars: The veſſels were embelliſhed with diverſified ornaments of gold and ivory, and rowed by bands of Pathics, ranged according to their ſeniority and pre-eminence in the ſcience of unnatural proſtitutions. From divers regions he had procured variety of wild-fowl, and wild beaſts for veniſon, with ſea-fiſh as far as the Ocean. Upon the borders and angles of the lake ſtood brothels filled with Ladies of illuſtrious rank: Over-againſt them profeſſed harlots were expoſed, completely naked. Now every-where, were beheld obſcene poſtures and agitations; and as ſoon as darkneſs ſpread, all the neighbouring groves and

circumjacent dwellings, refounded to each other with the joyful fymphony of mufic and fongs, and appeared all illuminated with a blaze of lights. For Nero's part, he wallowed in all forts of defilements, natural and unnatural. He, in truth, had then left no kind of abomination untried, which could ferve to finifh his vilenefs, had he not, in a few days after, perfonated a woman, and been given in marriage, with all the forms and folemnity of genuine nuptials, to one of this contaminated herd, a Pathic named Pythagoras: Over the Roman Emperor, as over a bride, was caft the facred nuptial veil; the Augurs were feen in form folemnizing the efpoufals, the portion of the bride was openly paid, the bridal bed difplayed, the nuptial torches kindled, and, in fine, to view was expofed whatever, even in natural commerce with women, is buried under the fhades of night.

There followed a dreadful calamity, but whether merely fortuitous, or by the execrable contrivance of the Prince, is not determined; for both are by authors afferted: But of all the evils which ever befel this city by the rage of fire, this was the moft deftructive and tragical. It arofe in that part of the Circus, which is contiguous to mount Palatine and mount Cœlius, where beginning amongft fhops, in which were kept fuch goods as are proper to feed the fury of fire, it grew inftantly outragious; and being alfo aided by freth force from the wind, it devoured the whole extent of the Circus. For neither were particular houfes fecured by any enclofures, nor the Temples by their walls, and it had nothing to encounter capable of obftructing its violence; but the flame fpreading every way, with terrible impetuofity, invaded firft the flat regions of the city, then mounted to the higher, and again ravaging the lower, fuch was its amazing velocity as to fruftrate all relief, and its havock was felt before

fore any meaſures to oppoſe it could be tried. Beſides, the city was obnoxious to conflagrations from the diſpoſition of its building, with long narrow allies, winding like labyrinths to and fro, and ſtreets void of all regularity, as was the faſhion of old Rome. Add to all this, the ſhrieks and wailings of women under woe and diſmay, the helpleſs condition of the young and tender, that of the aged and infirm, with the confuſion of ſuch as ſtrove only to provide for themſelves, interfering with thoſe who laboured to aſſiſt others, theſe dragging the weak and unweildy, thoſe waiting for the like help; ſome running, others lingering. From all which various efforts there aroſe only mutual interruption, and univerſal embarraſſment; and while they chiefly regarded the danger that purſued them behind, they often found themſelves ſuddenly beſet before, and on every ſide; or if they had firſt eſcaped into the quarters adjoining, theſe too were already ſeized by the devouring flames; even the parts which they believed quite remote and exempt, were diſcovered to be under the ſame affecting calamity. At laſt, utterly perplexed what they had beſt ſhun, or where to ſeek ſanctuary, they filled with their multitude the ſtreets and ways, and lay along in the open fields. Some there were who, in deſpair for the loſs of their whole ſubſtance, and even bereft of daily ſuſtenance, others who through tenderneſs for their relations, whom they had not been able to ſnatch from the flames, ſuffered themſelves to periſh in them, though they had full ſcope and opportunity to eſcape. Neither durſt any man offer to marr the progreſs of the fire: Such were the repeated menaces of many who openly forbid all attempts to extinguiſh it; and as there were others who, in the face of the public, heightened it by volleys of lighted firebrands, with loud declarations, 'that 'they had one to authorize them;' whether it were

a device for the more licentious exerciſe of plunder, or whether in reality they had ſuch orders.

Nero was at that juncture ſojourning at Antium, but never offered to return to the city, till he heard that the fire was advancing to that quarter of his houſe which filled the ſpace between the Palace and the Gardens of Mæcenas: Nor, even upon his arrival, could its rage be ſtaid, but, in ſpight of oppoſition, it devoured houſes and palace, and every thing round about. For the relief, however, of the forlorn people, thus vagabond and bereft of their dwellings, he laid open the field of Mars and all the great edifices erected by Agrippa, and called his monuments; he even preſented them the uſe of his own Gardens. He likewiſe reared haſty tabernacles, for the reception of the deſtitute multitude: from Oſtia too and the neighbouring cities, by his orders, were brought all ſorts of houſhold implements and neceſſaries; and the price of grain reduced to three ſeſterces the meaſure. All which bounties of his, however popular, were beſtowed in vain, without any gratitude returned; becauſe a rumour had flown abroad, 'That, during the 'very time when Rome was under the fury of con-'ſuming flames, he entered his domeſtic Theatre, 'and chanted the deſtruction of Troy, likening the 'preſent deſolation to the tragical calamities of 'antiquity.'

At length, on the ſixth day, the conflagration was ſtayed, at the foot of mount Eſquiline, by levelling with the ground an infinite number of buildings, and making a mighty void; ſo that the raging devaſtation hitherto uninterrupted, might find nothing to encounter but open fields and empty air. Scarce had the late conſternation ceaſed, when a new and no trivial alarm recurred; for the fire broke out with freſh outrage, but in places more wide

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and ſpacious ; hence fewer lives were deſtroyed : But, more Temples were here overthrown, and more ſumptuous Porticos, ſuch as were appropriated to public diverſion and feſtivity. This conflagration too was ſubject to the greater meaſure of infamy, for that it roſe in the poſſeſſions of Tigellinus, in the Amylian fields ; whence it was conjectured, that Nero was thus aiming at the glory of building a new city, and calling it by his name. For, of the fourteen quarters into which Rome is divided, four were ſtill ſtanding entire, three lay in utter ruins; and, in the ſeven others, three remained only here and there a few ſhadows of houſes, miſerably ſhattered and half conſumed.

Eaſy it were not to recount the number of the houſes, ſquares, palaces, and temples which were loſt : But foremoſt in antiquity and primitive rites, were the following edifices, that dedicated by Servius Tullius to the Moon ; the Temple and great Altar conſecrated by Evander the Arcadian to Hercules then a living Deity, and preſent in perſon ; the Chapel vowed by Romulus to Jupiter the Stayer ; the Court of Numa, with the Temple of Veſta, and in it the tutelar Gods peculiar to the Romans ; all now conſumed to ruins. In the ſame fate were involved the treaſures acquired and accumulated by ſo many victories ; the beautiful productions of Greek artiſts, ancient writings of celebrated Authors, and till then preſerved perfectly intire, which, though many of them were ſtill remembered by aged men, yet even upon the reſtoration of the city with ſuch mighty luſtre and embelliſhments, could never be retrieved nor ſupplied. There were thoſe who obſerved, that on the eighteenth of July the fire began, the ſame day on which the Gauls, called Senones, having taken and ſpoiled the city, burnt it to the ground: Others were ſo curious in their cal-

culation, as to reckon the juſt number of years, months and days between the two conflagrations.*

For the reſt; Nero appropriated to himſelf the ruins of his native country, and upon them founded a palace, one where profuſion of gold and precious ſtones, raiſed not the chief admiration; ſince theſe were ſtale and uſual ornaments, ſuch as from diffuſive luxury were become long common: But the principal ſurprize aroſe from the ſpacious glades, and large artificial lakes. In imitation of vaſt wilderneſſes, here ſtood thick woods and ſhades; there lay ample lawns, avenues, and open views. The projectors and comptrollers of this plan, were Severus and Celer, two men of ſuch temerity and enterprizing talents, as to attempt to remove by art the everlaſting obſtacles of nature, and to baffle, in vain experiments, all the Emperor's power. For they had undertaken to ſink a navigable canal from the lake Avernus to the mouth of the Tiber, over a dry and deſert ſhore, or through ſteep intervening mountains. Yet in all that way, they could not have encountered any ſource of moiſture for ſupplying water, ſave only the marſh Pomptina: The reſt was every where a ſucceſſion of rocks, or a ſoil parched and untractable: Or, had it ever been poſſible to have broke through all obſtruction, intolerable had been the toil, and the end incompetent. Nero however, zealous for atchieving feats which were deemed incredible, exerted all his might to perforate the mountains adjoining to Avernus; and to this day remain the traces of his romantic and abortive ambition.

The remainder of the old foundations, which his own court covered not, was aſſigned for houſes;

* I doubt the text here is faulty. Perhaps it ought to be read, as it is in one of the Manuſcripts, 'Between 'the foundation of the city, and both conflagrations.' *Inter conditam urbem & utraque incendia.*

nor

nor were theſe placed, as after it was burnt by the Gauls, at random and ſtraggling; but the ſtreets were delineated regularly, ſpacious and ſtreight; the height of the buildings was reſtrained to a certain ſtandard; the courts were widened; and, to all the great houſes which ſtood by themſelves, for ſecuring their fronts, large Porticos were added. Theſe Porticos Nero engaged to rear at his own expence, and then to deliver to each proprietor the ſquares about them, diſcharged of all rubbiſh. He moreover aſſigned donatives proportioned to every man's rank and ſubſtance; and ſet a day for payment, on condition that againſt that day their ſeveral houſes or palaces were finiſhed. He appointed the marſhes of Oſtia for a receptacle of the ruins, and that with theſe the veſſels which had conveyed grain up the Tiber, ſhould return laden back; that the new buildings ſhould be raiſed to a certain height from the foundation, without rafters or boards; that they ſhould be arched and partitioned with ſtone from the quarries of Gabii or Alba, the ſame being proof againſt the violence of fire: That over the common ſprings, which were licentiouſly diverted and waſted by private hands, overſeers ſhould be placed, to provide for their flowing in greater abundance into the public ciſterns, and for ſupplying a greater number of places: That every houſe-keeper ſhould furniſh his yard with ſome machine proper to extinguiſh fire; neither ſhould there be any more a common intermediate wall between houſe and houſe, but within its own independent walls every houſe ſhould be encloſed. Theſe regulations, which importing the general benefit of the citizens, were popularly received, derived alſo much beauty and decoration upon the new city. Yet, ſome there were who believed the ancient form and ſtructure more conducing to health; as from the narrowneſs of the ſtreets, and the height of the building, the

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rays of the ſun were hardly felt or admitted; whereas now, ſo ſpacious was the breadth of the ſtreets, and ſo utterly deſtitute of all ſhade, that the heat ſcorched with unabated rage.

Thus far the proviſions made, were the reſult of counſels purely human. The Gods are next accoſted with expiations, and recourſe had to the Sibyll's Books. By admonition from them, to Vulcan, Ceres and Proſerpina, ſupplicatory ſacrifices were made, and Juno atoned by the devotion of Matrons, firſt ſolemnized in the Capitol, then upon the next ſhore, where by water drawn from the ſea the Temple and Image of the Goddeſs were beſprinkled, and her feaſt and wake were celebrated by Ladies who had husbands. But not all the relief that could come from man, not all the bounties that the Prince could beſtow, nor all the atonements which could be preſented to the Gods, availed to acquit Nero from the hideous charge, which was ſtill univerſally believed, that by him the conflagration was authorized. Hence to ſuppreſs the prevailing rumour, he transferred the guilt upon fictitious criminals, and ſubjected to moſt exquiſite tortures, and doomed to executions ſingularly cruel thoſe people who, for their deteſtable crimes were already in truth univerſally abhorred, and known to the vulgar by the name of *Chriſtians*. The founder of this name was Chriſt, one who in the reign of Tiberius ſuffered death as a criminal, under Pontius Pilate Imperial Procurator of Judæa, and, for a while, the peſtilent ſuperſtition was quelled, but revived again and ſpread, not only over Judæa, where this evil was firſt broached, but even through Rome, the great gulph into which, from every quarter of the earth, there are torrents for ever flowing of all that is hideous and abominable amongſt men: Nay, in it the filthy glut of iniquity never fails to find popular reverence and diſtinction. Firſt therefore were ſeized ſuch as freely

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owned their ſect, then, a vaſt multitude by them diſcovered; and all were convicted, not ſo much for the imputed crime of burning Rome, as for their hate and enmity to human kind. To their death and torture were added the aggravations of cruel deriſion and ſport; for, either they were diſguiſed in the ſkins of ſavage beaſts, and expoſed to expire by the teeth of devouring dogs; or they were hoiſted up alive, and nailed to croſſes; or wrapt in combuſtible veſtments, and ſet up as torches, that, when the day ſet, they might be kindled to illuminate the night. For preſenting this tragical ſpectacle, Nero had lent his own gardens, and exhibited at the ſame time the public diverſion of the Circus, ſometimes driving a chariot in perſon, and, at intervals, ſtanding as a ſpectator amongſt the vulgar, in the habit of a charioteer. Hence it proceeded, that towards the miſerable ſufferers, however guilty and juſtly deſerving the moſt exemplary death, popular commiſeration aroſe, as for people who, with no view to the utility of the State, but only to gratify the bloody ſpirit of one man, were doomed to periſh.

In the mean time, in order to ſupply his prodigality with money, all Italy was pillaged, the Provinces were ſqueezed and deſolated; ſo were the ſeveral nations our confederates, and all thoſe cities which have the title of free. In this general ſpoil, even the Gods were involved, their temples in the City plundered, and from thence all the treaſures of gold conveyed, which the Roman people, in every age of their ſtate, either as monuments of triumphs celebrated, or of vows fulfilled, had ſolemnly conſecrated, both in their times of proſperity, and in ſeaſons of public peril. Through Greece and Aſia, in truth, the Deities were not only deſpoiled of their gifts and oblations, but even of their Statues and Images; for, into theſe Provinces, and with this commiſſion, had been ſent Acratus his freed-

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man, and Secundus Carinas, the former a prompt inſtrument to execute any iniquity, however black and flagrant; the other a man practiſed in the Greek learning, which however ſunk no deeper than his lips, and with virtuous acquirements he had never formed his ſoul. Of Seneca it was reported, 'That 'to avert from himſelf the odium and imputation 'of this ſacrilege, he had beſought Nero for leave 'to retire to a ſeat of his own, remote from Rome, 'but was refuſed, and thence feigning an indiſpoſi-'tion in his nerves, confined himſelf to his cham-'ber.' It is by ſome authors recorded, 'That a 'freedman of his, named Cleonicus, had, by the 'command of Nero, prepared poiſon for his maſ-'ter, who eſcaped it either from the diſcovery made 'by the freedman, or from the caution inſpired by 'his own inceſſant apprehenſions; while with a 'diet exceeding ſimple he ſupported an abſtemious 'life, ſatisfying the call of hunger by wild fruit 'from the woods, and of thirſt by a draught from 'the brook.'

About the ſame time a body of Gladiators, who were kept at the city of Prænefte, laboured an eſcape and revolt; and though by the diligence of the ſoldiers who guarded them they were maſtered and ſuppreſſed, the people were already in buſy murmurs reviving the terror of Spartacus and the public miſeries of old; fond as they ever are of agitations and novelty, yet ever frightened by them. Nor was it long after this that a fatal diſaſter befel the fleet, from no encounter in war; for ſcarce ever was known a time of ſuch profound peace: But Nero had ordered the gallies to return to the coaſt of Campania at a limited day, without any allowance made for the changes and caſualties of the deep. So that the pilots, even while the ſea raged, ſteered from the port of Formia, and, by a violent tempeſt from the South, while they ſtruggled to double the

Cape

Cape of Miſenum, were driven upon the ſhore of Cuma, where many gallies of three banks of oars, and a number of ſmaller veſſels, were wrecked.

In the cloſe of the year, the heads and mouths of the people were filled with a long rote of prodigies, as ſo many heralds of impending calamities. At no time had thunder roared, or lightning ſhot with ſuch fierceneſs and frequency, beſides the appearance of a Comet, an omen ever expiated by Nero with the effuſion of illuſtrious blood. In the ſtreets and roads were found expoſed ſeveral monſtrous births with double heads, ſome of the human ſpecies, ſome of brutes; as alſo from the bellies of victims ſome ſuch were taken, when for the ſacrifice cuſtom required beaſts that are pregnant: And in the territory of Placentia, by the ſide of the public way, was brought forth a calf with its head growing upon its leg, a prodigy which, according to the interpretation returned by the Soothſayers, boded, 'That for human kind another head was 'preparing, but one which would never arrive at 'ſtrength, or remain concealed; for that this which 'preſaged it, had lain repreſſed in the womb, and 'then iſſued into the world cloſe by the public road.'

Silius Nerva and Atticus Veſtinus commenced Conſuls, during the progreſs of a conſpiracy ſo vigorous, that to the ſame moment it owed its beginning and advancement. In it Senators, Knights, ſoldiers, and even women, had engaged with a ſpirit of eagerneſs and competition; ſuch was their deteſtation of Nero, and equally ſtrong their zeal for Caius Piſo. This Patrician, a deſcendent of the Calpurnian houſe, and by the nobleneſs of his paternal blood, allied to many illuſtrious families, was, for his own virtue, or for qualities that reſembled virtues, held amongſt the populace in ſignal applauſe: for, as he was a maſter of eloquence, he employed it in the patronage and defence of his

fellow citizens; he was generous to his friends and acquaintance; and even toward ſuch as were unknown to him, complaiſant in his language and addreſs. He poſſeſſed, with theſe advantages, others that were fortuitous, tallneſs of perſon and a graceful countenance: But ſtrictneſs of life and manners he never practiſed, nor obſerved reſtraints in his pleaſures; the ways of delicacy he ever indulged, as alſo thoſe of magnificence, ſometimes the exceſſes of luxury. Many too there were who approved this his conduct, ſuch who, in a general prevalence of debauchery, would not have the ſupreme head confined in his morals, nor ſtrictly ſevere.

It was from no ambition or purſuit of his that the birth of the conſpiracy ſprung; and yet I could not eaſily recount who he was that firſt concerted it, nor who animated a deſign which was by ſuch a number eſpouſed. That Subrius Flavius Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort, and Sulpicius Aſper the Centurion, were the keeneſt champions in it, the ſpirit and conſtancy with which they encountered death, do abundantly evince. Lucan the Poet, and Plautius Lateranus, Conſul elect, concurred from ardent animoſity and hate, the former ſtimulated by perſonal provocations, for that Nero had obſtructed the fame of his Poems, and, from a ridiculous emulation, forbid their publication. Lateranus was piqued by no injury done to himſelf, but, from ſincere affection to the Republic, became an accomplice. But there were two men, Flavius Scevinus and Afranius Quinctianus, both Senators, who, by engaging in an enterprize ſo great and daring, and even claiming to be foremoſt in the execution, departed from the conſtant character of their lives; for, Scevinus had a ſoul drowned in ſenſuality, and thence led a ſtupid life devoted to ſleep and ſloth: Quinctianus was infamous for unnatural proſtitution;

tion; and having been by Nero expoſed in a virulent Satire, to revenge the indignity he conſpired.

Now as all theſe, as well in conferences with one another, as amongſt their friends, were ever diſplaying 'the inhuman cruelties of the Prince, 'the condition of the Empire, threatened with in-'ſtant diſſolution, and the neceſſity of ſubſtitut-'ing in his place ſome one capable of relieving 'the afflicted ſtate;' they drew into the combination Tullius Senecio, Cervarius Proculus, Vulcatus Araricus, Julius Tugurinus, Munatius Gratus, Antonius Natalis, and Martius Feſtus, all Roman Knights. Of theſe Senecio, who had lived in ſingular intimacy with Nero, and preſerved even then the face of favour, was thence the more encompaſſed with dread and danger. To Natalis all the ſecret purpoſes in the heart of Piſo were open without reſerve: ſecret views governed the reſt, and they ſought their own intereſt in a change. Of the men of the ſword, beſides Subrius and Sulpicius, the officers already mentioned, there were aſſumed as accomplices, Granius, Silvanus and Statius Proximus, Tribunes of the Prætorian bands, with the Centurions Maximus Scaurus, and Venetus Paullus. But, as their main ſtrength and dependence, they conſidered Fenius Rufus, Captain of the Imperial Guards, a man for life and eſtimation, in ſignal credit and popularity, one who expoſed himſelf to daily perils from the hate and perſecution of Tigellinus, his collegue, who by the recommendations of a cruel ſpirit, and manners altogether impure, had gained a ſuperior aſcendancy in the heart of the Prince, and, labouring to deſtroy him by forged crimes, had often well nigh effected his deſtruction, by alarming Nero with the views and diſcontents of Rufus, 'as one who had been en-'gaged in a criminal commerce with Agrippina, 'and, in anguiſh and reſentment for her untimely

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'end, was bent upon vengeance.' As ſoon therefore as the conſpirators had, from the frequent diſcourſe of the Captain, received full conviction that he too had embraced their party, they proceeded more reſolutely to debate about the time and place of the aſſaſſination. It was reported, 'That Subrius 'Flavius had undertaken to make the firſt onſet, 'and aſſail Nero, either while he was chanting in 'the Theatre, or ſcouring from place to place, in 'his drunken revels by night, unattended by his 'guards.' In the latter project an incitement from ſolitude; in the former, even the great conflux of people, all witneſſes of an exploit ſo glorious, had rouſed his ſoul, to a purpoſe ſo full of nobleneſs and merit, had not a ſolicitude to execute it with impunity, reſtrained him; a conſideration which, in all grand enterprizes, is ever unſeaſonable and fatal.

In the mean time, while they were heſitating and protracting the iſſue of their hopes and fears, a certain woman, named Epicharis, applied herſelf to rouſe the conſpirators; though it was a perfect myſtery by what means ſhe came at all apprized of the conſpiracy (for till then ſhe had never ſhewn any regard to aught that was worthy or honourable) at laſt, ſhe became impatient of their flowneſs, and retiring to Campania, employed all her induſtry and ſkill to alienate the hearts of the chief officers in the fleet riding at Miſenum; and, to engage them in the deſign, ſhe began in the following manner. In that fleet Volueius Proculus had the command of a thouſand marines, one of the miniſters of blood employed to diſpatch the mother of Nero, and, in his own opinion, not diſtinguiſhed with promotion equal to the mighty and meritorious murder. As this officer, whether from old acquaintance with Epicharis, or a friendſhip newly contracted, recounted to her 'his ſignal ſervices to Nero, and how fruit-'leſs they had been beſtowed,' and as he ſub-

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joined 'bitter complaints, with a ſettled reſolution 'of taking vengeance whenever opportunity aroſe,' ſhe conceived hopes that he might be engaged himſelf in the deſign, and to it conciliate many others: Nor of ſmall moment was the aid and concurrence of the fleet, and frequent were the opportunities of exerting it, as Nero took ſingular delight in ſailing often about the coaſts of Miſenum and Puzzoli. Epicharis therefore, in anſwer to Proculus, urged many reaſonings, with a detail of all the crying cruelties committed by the Prince. She added, 'That 'to the Senate nothing remained to be done to-'wards accompliſhing his fall; only it was already 'determined to what pains the tyrant muſt be 'doomed for deſtroying the Roman ſtate. What 'therefore was to be expected from Proculus, but 'that he ſhould aſſume the taſk with zeal, aſſociate 'in the cauſe all the braveſt ſoldiers; and then 'depend upon a recompence worthy of ſuch ſub-'lime ſervice.' From him, however, ſhe concealed the names of the conſpirators: hence it was that even when he had betrayed to Nero her whole diſcourſe, his diſcovery availed nothing. For, when Epicharis was ſummoned, and confronted with the informer, as his charge againſt her was ſupported by no witneſſes, ſhe found it eaſy to refute and baffle him. After all, ſhe was detained in priſon, becauſe Nero vehemently ſuſpected, that theſe matters were not the more falſe for not being proved to be true.

Notwithſtanding the ſilence of Epicharis, the conſpirators, who were thoroughly alarmed with the dread of a diſcovery, came to a reſult to haſten the aſſaſſination, and to do it at Baiæ in a villa belonging to Piſo, whither the Emperor often reſorted, charmed with the lovelineſs of the place, and there wont to bath and banquet, remote from his guards and the other incumbrances of Imperial ſtate. But

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in this, Piſo would by no means concur: he alledged ‘ the general abhorrence which muſt enſue, were ‘ the inviolable rites of the table, were the Gods of ‘ hoſpitality, defiled by the blood of a Prince, how- ‘ ever vile he were: hence it were more adviſeable ‘ to diſpatch him at Rome, in that ſame deteſted ‘ houſe which with the ſpoils of the unhappy citi- ‘ zens he had reared; or, rather they ought, in the ‘ face of the public, to execute a deed, which for ‘ the benefit of the public they had undertaken.’ Thus he reaſoned openly amongſt the conſpirators, but, his heart was influenced by ſecret jealouſy, as he dreaded Lucius Silanus a man of tranſcendent quality, and, by the tuition of Caius Caſſius, by whom he was bred, ennobled with accompliſhments proper for every the moſt reſplendent dignity; leſt Silanus might ſeize the vacant ſovereignty for him- ſelf, as he would be ſure of inſtant aſſiſtance from all ſuch as were clear of the conſpiracy, and from all thoſe who ſhould prove affected with compaſſion for Nero, as for one traiterouſly ſlain. There were many who believed, that ‘ Piſo likewiſe diſtruſted ‘ the lively and turbulent ſpirit of the Conſul Veſ- ‘ tinus, whether he might not be prompted to re- ‘ ſtore liberty and the ancient government, or elſe, ‘ procuring ſome other than Piſo to be choſen Em- ‘ peror, turn the Republic into a gift of his own ‘ beſtowing.’ For in the conſpiracy he had no ſhare, though Nero afterwards, under the imputation of this very crime, doomed him an innocent ſacrifice to ſatiate his own inveterate rancour.

At length they agreed to perpetrate their deſigns upon the anniverſary ſacred to Ceres, and always ſolemnized with the Circenſian games; for that, the Emperor who otherwiſe came ſeldom abroad, but remained ſhut up in his apartments or gardens, was yet wont to frequent the diverſions of the Cir- cus, where, during the gayety and pleaſures of the ſports,

ſports, acceſs to him was more readily obtained. The ſcheme of their plot they contrived on this wiſe: 'Lateranus, in the poſture of a ſupplicant, and 'feigning to implore relief in his domeſtic affairs, 'was to fall at the Prince's feet, and, while he ap-'prehended no ſuch attempt, throw him down, 'and, as Lateranus was of a daring ſpirit and huge 'in ſtature, hold him fixt to the place. While he 'lay thus preſſed and entangled, the Tribunes, Cen-'turions, and all the reſt, according as they felt 'themſelves prompted by preſent impulſe and mag-'nanimity, were inſtantly to ruſh in and ſlay him. 'That Scevinus ſhould be the foremoſt to ſtrike,' was a taſk by himſelf earneſtly claimed; for, from the Temple of Health in Etruria, or, as others have recorded, from that of Fortune in the city of Ferentum, he had brought away a dagger, and carried it conſtantly about him, as a weapon conſecrated to the perpetration of a deed of mighty moment. It was moreover concluded, 'That Piſo ſhould wait 'the event in the Temple of Ceres, and be thence 'brought forth by Fenius, Captain of the Guards, 'and the other conſpirators, and conducted to the 'camp; moreover, in order to attract the affections 'of the populace, Antonia, daughter of the late 'emperor Claudius, was to accompany him.' A particular recorded by Caius Plinius; for myſelf, I was determined to ſuppreſs no circumſtance in what way ſoever delivered; however marvellous and inconſiſtent it may ſeem, that either Antonia ſhould contribute her name, and riſque her life, to promote a ſcheme, to herſelf altogether fruitleſs and vain; or, that Piſo, a man univerſally known to have been paſſionately fond of his wife, ſhould engage to marry another; were it not that, of all the paſſions which actuate the heart of man, the luſt of reigning is the moſt vehement and flaming.

But,

But, wonderful it was, in a combination ſo numerous, ſo variouſly framed, amongſt thoſe of every condition, different in rank, in quality, ſex, and age, many wealthy, many poor, all things ſhould be buried in ſuch faithful ſecrecy, till from the family of Scevinus the traiterous diſcovery firſt aroſe. The day before that of the deſigned aſſaſſination, he had been engaged in a long conference with Antonius Natalis, and immediately, upon returning home, ſealed his will; then unſheathing the dagger mentioned above, he complained that it had lain ſo long neglected till it was become blunt, ordered it to be grinded into an edge, and the point to be accurately ſharpened. The charge of this he committed to Milichus, one of his freedmen, and next betook himſelf to a repaſt more gaudy and profuſe than ordinary. His favourite ſlaves he preſented with their liberty, others with ſums of money; upon his countenance too there hung clouds and melancholy; and it was apparent, that his mind laboured with ſome grand deſign, though he counterfeited cheerfulneſs by many ſtarts of diſcourſe upon as many ſubjects. At laſt, he directed the ſame Milichus to prepare bandages for wounds, and applications for ſtopping blood; whether the freedman were in truth already privy to the conſpiracy, and had hitherto perſevered in fidelity, or whether he were utterly in the dark, and then firſt, as ſeveral authors have written, gathered from conſequences his ſudden ſuſpicion. For, when the freedman, ſtill acted by the baſe ſpirit of a ſlave, revolved with himſelf the recompence to be expected from proving a traitor to his maſter, and at the ſame time beheld, as already his own, immenſe wealth and potent ſway; he renounced at once every tie of faith, all tenderneſs for his Lord, and all remembrance of liberty by him generouſly beſtowed. In truth, beſides his own mercenary motives, he had taken

counſel of his wife, a woman's counſel and the worſt; for ſhe was ever urging him with the dreadful peril of hiding treaſon, 'That many freedmen, many 'ſlaves, had beheld, as well as he, the ſame things, 'and of no availment would prove the ſilence of 'one; and yet only by one, whoever he were who 'firſt diſcovered, would all the rewards be reaped.'

Milichus, therefore, at the firſt dawn of day, went ſtraight to the Gardens of Servilius, where Nero then abode, and, being refuſed admittance, declared that he brought 'mighty and horrible diſcoveries,' with ſuch earneſtneſs, that he was conducted by the porters to Epaphroditus, a freedman of Nero's, and by him forthwith to Nero himſelf. To him he repreſented, 'what formidable conſpi-'racies were concerted, what mortal danger was 'juſt impending,' with all the circumſtances which he had heard, with whatever from his own obſervation he conjectured, and even ſhewing the dagger deſtined to deſtroy him, deſired the criminal to be inſtantly produced. Scevinus was by the ſoldiers haled haſtily thither, and proceeding to his defence, anſwered, 'That for the dagger with which he 'was charged, it was a relique left him by his fore-'fathers, ever held ſacred in their family, by him-'ſelf always kept in his chamber, and from thence 'traiterouſly conveyed away by his freedman. New 'wills he had often made, and ſealed them, with-'out obſerving any diſtinction of days. Frequently 'before this, he had beſtowed upon his ſlaves li-'berty and largeſſes, lately with the greater libera-'lity, for that, his fortune being reduced, and his 'creditors importunate, he diſtruſted his power of 'gratifying his domeſtics by legacies. A generous 'table he had ever kept, and ever indulged himſelf 'in a life of eaſe and pleaſure, ſuch as by the rigid 'cenſurers of manners, was but little approved. 'Dreſſes for wounds, he had ordered none; but,

'as all the other imputations objected by his freed-
'man, were manifeſtly impotent and vain, he had
'invented and added a charge of treaſon, ſuch as
'might enable him to be at once witneſs and accu-
'ſer.' His words he enforced with an undaunted ſpirit; he even charged the accuſer, as 'a fellow 'altogether peſtilent and traiterous, and his teſti-'mony incompetent,' with a voice and countenance ſo intrepid, that the informer muſt have been baffled, but for his wife. She advertiſed him, that 'with Scevinus, Antonius Natalis had held a long 'converſation and exceeding ſecret, and that both 'were cloſe confidents of Caius Piſo.'

Natalis therefore was called, and both were examined, but apart, concerning 'the particulars, 'and the ſubject of that converſation.' As their anſwers varied, cauſe of ſuſpicion aroſe, and they were thrown into irons; but the ſight of the rack, and the menaces of torture, neither could bear. Natalis however was foremoſt to confeſs, as better acquainted with the whole order and progreſs of the conſpiracy, and withal more expert in impeaching. Firſt, he diſcovered how far Piſo was concerned, afterwards to him he added Seneca; whether he had indeed acted as an inter-agent between him and Piſo, or whether he only did it to purchaſe the favour of Nero, who, in ardent hate to Seneca, was daily hunting after all ſorts of devices to deſtroy him. Now Scevinus, having learnt that by Natalis a confeſſion was made, yielded to the ſame imbecility of ſpirit; or, perhaps, he believed that already the confederacy was, in every particular, diſcloſed, and from his own ſilence no emolument to be expected. Hence he declared all the other accomplices. Of theſe Lucan and Quinctianus, and Senecio, perſiſted long in denying the charge; but at length, by a promiſe of their exemption from puniſhment, they ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted; then,

then, to atone for their late ſlowneſs, they named their deareſt friends. Lucan informed againſt Attilla, his own mother, Quinctianus againſt Glicius Gallus, and Senecio againſt Annius Pollio.

Nero, the while recollected that, upon the evidence of Voluſius Proculus, Epicharis was holden in cuſtody, and, ſuppoſing that the tender body of a woman could never endure the rage of the rack, ordered her to be cruſhed and mangled with variety of torments. But neither the fury of ſtripes, nor of fire, nor of the torturers, who tore her with the more vehemence, leſt, with all their dexterity and efforts in cruelty, they ſhould be at laſt ſcorned and baffled by a woman, could at all vanquiſh her. She ſtill utterly denied every particular objected; this was the iſſue of the torture the firſt day, and by her its violence was deſpiſed. The day following, as ſhe was returning to ſuffer a repetition of the ſame outrageous torments, and reconducted in a chair (for, all her members being rent and disjointed, ſhe could not ſupport herſelf) with the girdle that bound her breaſts, ſhe framed a nooſe for her neck, and tying it to the canopy of the chair, hung upon it with all the weight of her body, and thence diſlodged the ſlender remains of life. Behind her ſhe left an example the more ſignal and heroic, for that a woman who was once a ſlave, ſhould, upon an occaſion ſo trying and important, undergo torture and death, to protect ſuch to whom ſhe had no tye of kindred or friendſhip, nay, ſuch as ſhe ſcarce knew; when men, men born free, when Roman Knights, and Senators of Rome, without once feeling the torture, betrayed, without exception, every one the deareſt pledges which he had in friendſhip and blood. For, Lucan too and Senecio, and Quinctianus, never ceaſed making diſcoveries, and were ſtill naming more accomplices; a detail which was inceſſantly adding to the affright and diſmay of

Nero; though he had, with guards redoubled, fenced himſelf in. Nay, as if he meant to have impriſoned Rome itſelf; upon the walls, all round, bands of ſoldiers were poſted: even the ſea and the Tiber were garriſoned. Moreover, parties of foot and horſe were perpetually ranging every-where, in the public ſquares, in private houſes, even through the circumjacent territory, and neighbouring municipal towns. But, with both horſe and foot, there were Germans intermixt; for, in them, as they were foreigners, the Prince chiefly confided. Thenceforth, the accuſed were haled in whole droves, numbers after numbers, without intermiſſion, towards his tribunal, and lay in miſerable expectation, at the gates of his Garden. When they had entered, in order to be ſucceſſively heard, if it appeared, 'that they had ever been ſeen gay or ſmiling with 'any of the conſpirators, or happened to ſpeak to 'them, though fortuitouſly, or to meet them, how-'ever unexpectedly, or to have been common gueſts 'at the ſame table, or ſat together at ſome public 'ſhew;' all this, or any part of it, was imputed as guilt and treaſon. Beſides the cruel ſcrutiny made by Nero and Tigellinus, violent were the queſtions and imputations urged by Fenius Rufus, who had as yet eſcaped all information, and, to beget a perſuaſion, that he had been an utter ſtranger to the plot, manifeſted himſelf now ſtern and outrageous againſt his own aſſociates. Nay, it was he that fruſtrated the bold purpoſe of Subrius Flavius, who, while he attended, and demanded by ſigns, whether he ſhould draw his ſabre, and, even in the heat of the inqueſt, perpetrate the aſſaſſination, was by contrary ſigns from Rufus forbid, and his ardour checked, when already his hand graſped the hilt.

There were thoſe who, when the conſpiracy was firſt betrayed, while Milichus was yet under examination, while Scevinus wavered, exhorted Piſo,

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'to proceed directly to the Camp, or mount the 'Roſtrum, and try the affections of the people and 'ſoldiery; for, if once his accomplices were openly 'aſſembled to maintain his efforts, thoſe too who 'were not engaged, would certainly follow; and, 'when the commotion was once begun, mighty 'would be the public noiſe and alarm; an incident 'which, in all new attempts, is of infinite avail-'ment. Neither was Nero provided to reſiſt the 'ſhock. With terrors that come ſudden and un-'foreſeen, even brave men were daunted; how 'little then was it to be apprehended that, that 'Comedian, guarded forſooth by Tigellinus with 'his hoſt of harlots, would dare to riſque a conflict 'of arms? Many deſigns there were, which, though 'to daſtardly ſpirits they appeared arduous and im-'poſſible, were yet accompliſhed by trying to ac-'compliſh them. In ſuch a mixt multitude, en-'gaged in the plot, or privy to it, it was vain to 'expect conſtant faith and ſecrecy; or, that the 'minds of all would be proof againſt temptation, 'and their bodies againſt pain. To the force of 'recompences and tortures nothing was impene-'trable; nay, there would ſoon arrive men, who 'would commit to bonds Piſo himſelf, and at length 'ſubject him to a contumelious death. But with 'how much more glory and renown, would he fall, 'while he eſpouſed the Commonwealth, bravely 'invoking aid, and rouſing champions for public 'Liberty; while, even though the ſoldiers failed 'him, though the people forſook him, he ſtill per-'ſiſted, and, by loſing his life, approved his death 'worthy of his anceſtors, glorious to his poſterity?' But, upon Piſo theſe reaſonings had no influence. After he had appeared for a ſmall ſpace abroad, he retired to privacy at home, and was preparing his mind to encounter a deliberate death, when at his houſe arrived a band of ſoldiers, all young men,

either in years or ſervice, purpoſely culled by Nero, who dreaded the old ſoldiers, as tinctured with partiality for the conſpirators. Then it was, that cauſing the veins in both his arms to be broached, he expired. He left a will full of noiſome flattery to Nero, thus framed in tenderneſs to hiswife, a woman of vitious conduct, void of every recommendation ſave the beauty of her perſon, one whom he had raviſhed from her husband, a friend of his own, his name Domitius Sillius, and hers Arria Galla; and both concurred, he by his paſſiveneſs, ſhe by her wantonneſs, to blaze the diſhonour of Piſo.

The next death added by Nero to this, was that of Plautius Lateranus, Conſul elect, and inflicted with ſuch precipitation, that he would not allow him to pay the laſt embraces to his children, nor that ſhort interval wont to be indulged to the condemned, for chuſing their own death. Inſtantly he was dragged to the place allotted for the execution of ſlaves, and there, by the hand of Statius the Tribune, ſlaughtered. He died full of exemplary firmneſs and invincible ſilence, nor once upbraiding the Tribune with an equal participation in the conſpiracy. The bloody doom of Seneca followed, to the infinite joy of the Prince, from no proof that he had of his engagement in the plot, but to ſatiate his own cruelty, that the raging ſword might perpetrate what had been by poiſon unſucceſsfully attempted. For, Natalis only had named him; but concerning him could diſcover no more than thus much, 'That he had been by Piſo 'ſent to viſit Seneca, then indiſpoſed, to complain 'in his name, that he himſelf was refuſed admit-'tance; and withal to repreſent, that it would be 'better if they maintained their friendſhip in free 'and familiar intercourſe; that to this Seneca re-'plied, That the maintaining of frequent conver-

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'sations and interviews by themselves, was con-
'ducing to the service of neither, but upon the
'safety of Piso his own security rested.' Granius Silvanus, Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort, was ordered to represent all this to Seneca, and to demand of him, whether he owned the words of Natalis, and his own answers. Seneca had that very day either from chance or foresight, returned from Campania, and rested at a villa of his, four miles from Rome. Thither arrived the Tribune in the evening, beset the villa with his men, and to him, as he sat at table with Paullina his wife, and two friends, delivered his orders from the Emperor.

Seneca replied, 'That Natalis had, in truth,
'been sent to him, and in the name of Piso com-
'plained, that the latter was debarred from visiting
'him; a complaint which he had answered by ex-
'cuses taken from his bodily disorder and desire of
'quiet; but still he never had any motive to de-
'clare, that to his own security he preferred the
'safety of a private man. A genius addicted to
'flatter, he never had, as no man better knew
'than Nero, who from Seneca had felt more fre-
'quent proofs of freedom than servility.' When this his answer was by the Tribune reported to Nero, in presence of Poppæa and Tigellinus, who were assistants to the raging tyrant, and composed his cabinet council, he asked, whether Seneca were determined upon a voluntary death? The Tribune averred, 'That he had manifested no one symptom
'of fear, and neither in his words nor looks was
'aught of anguish to be discovered.' Hence he was commanded to return directly, and carry him the denunciation of death. Fabius Rusticus writes,
'That the Tribune took not now the same road
'which he came, but wheeling aside to Fenius,
'Captain of the guards, and disclosing the empe-
'ror's orders, demanded whether he should obey

'him, was by him admoniſhed to purſue them.' Such was the fatal ſpiritleſſneſs and timidity of all the conſpirators! Silvanus too was one, and yet contributing to multiply the ſame bloody iniquities which he had conſpired to avenge. He avoided, however, ſeeing Seneca, and delivering in perſon the ſad meſſage, but ſent in a Centurion to apprize him of 'his final doom.'

The denunciation no wiſe diſmayed Seneca, who called calmly for his will, and as this was prohibited by the Centurion, turning to his friends, he told them, 'That ſince he was diſabled from a grate-'ful requital of their benefits, he bequeathed them 'that which alone was now left him, yet ſome-'thing more glorious and amiable than all the reſt, 'the pattern of his life; if they retained the im-'preſſions and reſemblance of this, they would 'thence reap the applauſe of virtuous manners. as 'well as that of perſevering in their friendſhip.' He withal repreſſed their tears, ſometimes with gentle reaſoning, ſome times in the ſtile of authority and correction, and ſtrove to recover them to reſolution and conſtancy. 'Where, he often aſked, where 'were now all the documents of philoſophy, where 'that philoſophical principle, for ſo many years pre-'mediated, againſt the ſudden encounter of calami-'ties? For, to whom was unknown the bloody nature 'of Nero? Nor, after the butchering of his mother, 'and the murdering of his brother, did aught remain 'to conſummate his cruelty, but to add to theirs the 'ſlaughter of his nurſing father and inſtructor.'

Having uttered theſe and the like reaſonings, di-rected to the company in general, he embraced his wife; an affecting object, which ſomewhat abated his firmneſs, and ſoftned him into anxiety for her future lot; he preſſed and beſought her to moderate her ſorrow, to beware of perpetuating ſuch a diſ-'mal paſſion; but to bear the death of her huſband

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'by contemplating his life ſpent in a ſteady courſe 'of virtue, and to ſupport his loſs by all worthy 'conſolations.' Paullina, on the contrary, urged her purpoſe to die with him, and called for the aid of a miniſter of death. Upon this declaration, Seneca would not bereave her of ſo much glory; ſuch beſides was his fondneſs for her, that he was loth to leave one by himſelf beloved above all things, expoſed to inſults and injuries: 'I had laid before 'thee, ſaid he, the delights and ſolacements of 'living; thou preferreſt the renown of dying; I 'ſhall not envy thee the honour of the example. 'Between us let us equally ſhare the fortitude of 'an end ſo brave, but greater will be the ſplendour 'of thy particular fall.' Preſently after this converſation, both had the veins of their arms opened, at the ſame inſtant. Seneca was aged, his body cold, and extenuated by feeble diet, ſo that the iſſues of his blood were exceeding ſlow; hence he cauſed to be cut the veins alſo of his legs and thoſe about the joints of his knees. As he was ſuccumbing under many grievous agonies, he perſuaded her to retire into another chamber, leſt his own ſufferings might vanquiſh the reſolution of his wife, or he himſelf, by beholding her pangs, lapſe into weakneſs and impatience; and, his eloquence flowing even to the laſt moment of his life, he called for his ſcribes, and to them dictated many things, which being already publiſhed in his own words, and common, I forbear to rehearſe in any words of mine.

Towards Paullina, Nero bore no perſonal hate, and, to avoid feeding the public abhorrence of his cruelty, ordered her death to be prevented. Hence, at the perſuaſion of the ſoldiers, her domeſtic ſlaves and freedmen bound up her arms, and ſtaid the blood; but, whether with her own concurrence, is uncertain. For, as the populace in

their cenſure are rather prone to malignancy, there were ſome who believed, ‘ that while ſhe feared ‘ the wrath of Nero as implacable, ſhe aimed at ‘ the applauſe of dying with her husband; but, ‘ as ſoon as gentler hopes occured, ſhe became van- ‘ quiſhed with the ſweetneſs and allurements of ‘ life :’ to which it is certain, ſhe added but a ſmall portion of years, ever retaining for the memory of her huſband a reverence worthy of all praiſe; her face too, and all her limbs, were ſtill covered with ſuch deadly paleneſs, that it was notorious the principles of life had been in a great meaſure exhauſted. Seneca, the while, afflicted with the tedious protraction of life, and the ſlow advances of death, beſought Statius Annæus, one long proved by him for faith in friendſhip and ſkill in medicine, to bring him a draught of the poiſon, which a great while ago he had laid up in ſtore, the ſame ſort which is uſed at Athens, to diſpatch ſuch as are by the public judgment condemned. This he ſwallowed, but in vain; for already all his limbs were chilled, all his juices ſtagnated and impenetrable to the rapidity of poiſon. He therefore had recourſe to a hot bath, from whence he beſprinkled ſuch of his ſlaves as ſtood neareſt, adding, that ‘ of this liquor ‘ he made a libation to Jupiter the deliverer.’ From thence he was conveyed into a ſtove, and ſuffocated with the ſteam. His corps was burnt without any funeral ſolemnity; for thus in his will he had enjoined, even then when, in the plenitude of his opulence and authority, he had provided for his deceaſe and obſequies.

A rumour there was, that Subrius Flavius, in a ſecret conſultation with the Centurions, and even with the privacy of Seneca, had determined, that, as ſoon as by the aid of Piſo, Nero was ſlain, Piſo too ſhould be diſpatched, and the Empire transferred to Seneca, as one exempt from all reproach,

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and only 'for the fame and reſplendency of his 'virtues, preferred to the ſupreme dignity.' Nay, even the words ſaid to have been by Flavius then uttered, became current, 'That it would nothing 'avail towards aboliſhing the public contumely, to 'depoſe a Minſtrel, if to the vacant purple a Tra-'gedian ſucceeded.' For, as Nero was wont to ſing to the harp, ſo was Piſo to chant in the accent and dreſs of tragedy.

Now neither could the ſhare of the ſoldiers in the conſpiracy be kept longer a myſtery; ſuch was the temptation and eagerneſs of the diſcoverers to betray Fenius Rufus, whom they could not bear both for an accomplice and inquiſitor. Hence it was, that in the examination of Scevinus, while Rufus urged him to a full confeſſion, with much vehemence and many menaces; the other ſmiled, and told him, 'That in all the particulars of the 'plot, no man was more knowing than himſelf;' he even exhorted him, 'to make ſuitable returns 'of gratitude to ſo good a Prince.' To refute the charge, Fenius had not a ſyllable to utter, nor yet would acquieſce in ſilence, but faultring and perplexed in his ſpeech, expoſed notoriouſly his inward diſmay. At the ſame time the reſt, chiefly Cervarius Proculus, a Roman Knight, combining with all their might to convict him, one Caſſius a ſoldier, who, for his ſignal ſtrength of body, was appointed to attend the trials, laid hold upon him, by the Emperor's order, and caſt him into bonds.

In the detection made by the ſame men, Subrius Flavius, the Tribune, was next fatally involved. At firſt he aimed at a defence, and pleaded 'the 'diverſity of his profeſſion and manners from thoſe 'of the conſpirators: for that, never for the exe-'cution of an attempt ſo great and daring, would 'he, who was a man of arms, have leagued with 'ſuch as were reſigned to effeminacy, and never

'bore any.' But, at laſt, finding himſelf puſhed with queſtions and circumſtances, he aſpired to the glory of confeſſion; and, in anſwer to Nero, who aſked him from what provocations he had ſlighted the obligation of his oath; 'I abhorred thee, ſaid 'he, though, amongſt all thy ſoldiery, none was 'more faithful and affectionate than I, as long as 'thou didſt merit affection. With thy own de-'teſtable crimes my abhorrence of thee began, after 'thou hadſt become the murderer of thy mother, 'the murderer of thy wife, a Charioteer, a Come-'dian, and the Incendiary that ſet fire to Rome.' I have repeated his very words; for they were not divulged abroad, like thoſe of Seneca: nor leſs worthy to be known were the ſentiments of a man of the ſword, which, however artleſs and unpolite, are vigorous and brave. It was apparent, that this whole conſpiracy had afforded nothing, which proved more bitter and pungent than this to the ears of Nero, who was abandoned to every black iniquity, but unaccuſtomed and too imperious to be upbraided afterwards with his flagitious doings. The execution of Flavius was committed to the Tribune Veianus Niger, and in the next field, by his direction, was digged a funeral trench, which Flavius derided, 'as too ſtreight and ſhallow;' and, applying to the guard of ſoldiers, 'This, ſays he, is not 'ſo much as according to the laws of diſcipline.' Being admoniſhed by the Tribune, to extend his neck valiantly, 'I wiſh, replied he, thou mayſt 'ſtrike with equal valour.' In truth, Niger was totally overcome by a violent trembling, and hardly at two blows beheaded him; hence, to magnify his own cruelty, he boaſted to Nero, that in putting him to death, he deſignedly employed more ſtrokes than one.

The next example of conſtancy and fortitude was adminiſtered by Sulpicius Aſper, the Centurion,

who, in anſwer to the queſtion urged by Nero, why he had conſpired to kill him, ſaid in few words, 'Other relief there was none againſt thy numberleſs and raging enormities;' and immediately underwent his preſcribed doom. Nor did the other Centurions deviate in bravery and ſpirit, but gallantly faced death, and ſuffered its pains. In Fenius Rufus equal magnanimity was not found; nay, ſuch and ſo permanent were his unmanly lamentations and anguiſh, that even in his laſt will, he bewailed himſelf. Great was the expectation which Nero was foſtering, that Veſtinus the Conſul, would prove likewiſe involved in the treaſon, as he eſteemed him a man of a violent ſpirit, and prompted by virulent hate and diſaffection. But, to Veſtinus the conſpirators had imparted none of their counſels, ſome influenced by ſtale perſonal diſtaſtes, many becauſe they believed him a man altogether precipitate and untractable. But, that which begot in Nero his enmity to Veſtinus, was an intimate fellowſhip between them. From thence the latter throughly knew and ſcorned the vile cowardly heart of the Prince, and the Prince dreaded the haughty and vehement temper of his friend, by whom he had been frequently inſulted with poignant and diſdainful ſarcaſms, which, whenever they are ſeaſoned with much truth, never fail to leave behind them a bitter and vengeful remembrance. A recent provocation had likewiſe occurred, Veſtinus had taken to wife Statilia Meſſalina, though he was aware that amongſt her other gallants, Cæſar too was one.

When therefore there appeared no accuſer to charge him, no crime to be charged, Nero, ſince he could not ſatiate his rancour, under the title and guiſe of a Judge, flew to the violence of a Tyrant. Againſt him he diſpatched Gerelanus the Tribune, at the head of five hundred men, with orders,

orders, ‘ To obviate the attempts and machinations ‘ of the Conſul, to take poſſeſſion of his houſe ſo ‘ much reſembling a citadel, and to ſubdue his do- ‘ meſtic band of choſen youths :’ for, the dwelling of Veſtinus overlooked the great Forum, and he always kept a number of beautiful ſlaves, all of an age. He had that day diſcharged all the functions of Conſul; he was afterwards celebrating a banquet at home, void of all fear, or, perhaps, by the gayety of feaſting, ſeeking to hide his fears, when the ſoldiers entered. They told him, the Tribune had ſent them to bring him; nor delayed he a jot, but roſe from table, and in one and the ſame moment the haſty tragedy was begun and finiſhed: he was ſhut up in a chamber, the phyſician attended, his veins were cut, and, while yet full of life, and his ſtrength unabated, he was conveyed into a bagnio and ſmothered with hot water; nor, under all this deadly denunciation and proceſs, did a ſyllable eſcape him, importing the leaſt regret or ſelf-commiſeration. In the mean time, the whole company who ſupped with him, were encloſed with a Guard, nor releaſed till the night was far ſpent. Nero, after he had repreſented to himſelf the conſternation of men, who from the joy of a feaſt, were waiting for their mortal doom, and had even made himſelf ſport with their fears, declared at laſt, ‘ That they ‘ had undergone penalty ſufficient for their Con- ‘ ſular ſupper.’

The next bloody ſentence he pronounced, was againſt Lucan the Poet. He, while his blood iſſued in ſtreams, perceiving his feet and hands to grow cold and ſtiffen, and life to retire by little and little from the extremities, while his heart was ſtill beating with vital warmth, and his faculties no wiſe impaired, recollected ſome lines of his own, which deſcribed a wounded ſoldier expiring in a manner that reſembled this. The lines themſelves he rehearſed,

hearſed, and they were the laſt words he ever uttered. Thereafter Senecio, and Quinctianus, and Scevinus, ſuffered the violence of their fate, but with a ſpirit far different from the former effeminacy and voluptuouſneſs of their lives. Anon too were executed the reſidue of the conſpirators, without aught memorable done or expreſſed by them.

Now, when Rome was filled with deaths, and coarſes, and funerals, ſo was the Capitol with victims. One man had loſt a ſon, one a brother, this a friend, that a kinſman; all fallen by the fury of the ſword; and every man paid his public thankſgiving to the Gods, adorned his houſe with laurel, fell proſtrate at the Emperor's feet, embraced his knees, and worried his right hand with kiſſes. He, who believed all this to be a ſincere manifeſtation of joy, rewarded Antonius Natalis and Cervarius Proculus with pardon, for their early confeſſion and diſcovery. Upon Milichus was accumulated abundant wealth and recompence, and he aſſumed a Greek name, ſignifying *Protector*. Granius Silvanus, one of the conſpiring Tribunes, though he was acquitted, fell by his own hand. Statius Proximus, another, fruſtrated the Prince's pardon, by vainly engaging afterwards in another offence, and dying for it. Of their commands next were bereft the following Tribunes, Pompeius, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Nepos, and Statius Domitius, for no charge as if towards the Emperor they bore any malevolence, but only that they were dreaded by him. To Nonius Priſcus, to Glitius Gallus, and Annius Pollio, all obnoxious from their friendſhip to Seneca, and rather calumniated than convicted, baniſhment was adjudged. Antonia Flacilla accompanied Priſcus her exiled huſband; and Gallus too was attended by his wife Egnatia Maximilla, a couple at firſt poſſeſſed of wealth mighty and unimpaired, afterwards diſpoſſeſſed of all, and, from both

theſe different fortunes, their glory was augmented. Into baniſhment too was driven Rufius Criſpinus, a puniſhment for which the conſpiracy furniſhed a pretence; but the real cauſe was the antipathy of Nero, and his crime, to have been once the huſband of Poppæa. Upon Virginius and Muſonius Rufus, their own ſignal renown drew the ſeverity of expulſion. They had both engaged the affections of the Roman youth, Virginius by lectures of Eloquence, Muſonius by reaſonings upon the precepts of Philoſophy. Cluvidienus Quietus, Julius Agrippa, Blitius Catulinus, Petronius Priſcus, and Julius Altinus, as if a hoſt had been formed of criminals convict, and their doom and numbers diſplayed, were all at once condemned to be tranſported into the Iſlands of the Ægean ſea. Cæſonius Maximus, and Cadicia the wife of Scevinus, were exterminated Italy, and, only by ſuffering the puniſhment of crimes, learnt that ever they had been charged as criminals. The information againſt Atilla, the mother of Lucan, was diſſembled, and, without being cleared, ſhe eſcaped unpuniſhed.

Nero having accompliſhed all theſe matters, aſſembled the ſoldiery, entertained them with a ſpeech, diſtributed amongſt them a largeſs of fifty crowns a man; and whereas hitherto they had been ſupplied with grain at the eſtabliſhed rate, he allowed it them thenceforth without payment. Then, as if he had been about to recount to the Senate the feats and events of a war, he ordered the fathers to aſſemble. Upon Petronius Turpilianus, the Conſular, upon Cocceius Nerva, Prætor elect, and upon Tigellinus, Captain of the Prætorian Guards, he conferred the ornaments and diſtinction of triumph. Nay, to ſuch notable eminence did he raiſe Tigellinus and Nerva, that, beſides their triumphal Statues erected in the Forum, he would needs have their images placed likewiſe in the palace. To

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Nymphidius he granted the Conſular decorations, a man concerning whom, ſince his name now firſt occurs, I ſhall here recite a few particulars. For, he too will have his ſhare in the bloody calamities and viciſſitudes of Rome. He was born of a manumiſed ſlave, who having a comely perſon, had proſtituted the ſame to the domeſtics of the Emperors, bond and free without diſtinction; hence he boaſted himſelf the ſon of Caligula, ſeeing, like him, he happened to be tall of ſtature, and of a countenance ſtern and terrible. Or, perhaps, it is likely that Caligula, who was addicted to the embraces of harlots, had alſo deſcended to gallantries with the mother of Nymphidius.

Nero having thus aſſembled the fathers, and delivered a diſcourſe concerning the late tranſactions, addreſſed an edict to the people upon the ſame ſubject, and publiſhed from records the ſeveral evidences againſt the condemned conſpirators, as alſo their own confeſſions. He was, indeed, ſorely reproached by a rumour current amongſt the populace, 'That merely to ſatiate his malice, or out of 'baſe fear, he had ſacrificed guiltleſs and illuſtrious 'men.' Yet, that there was a real conſpiracy, concerted and grown to maturity, and at laſt detected and cruſhed, was no matter of doubt to ſuch as were then curious to be truly informed, and even acknowledged by thoſe of the conſpirators, who, after the fall of Nero, returned from baniſhment to Rome. Now in the Senate, where every particular, the more ſenſibly he was pierced with anguiſh, the more fawnings and congratulations he expreſſed, Salienus Clemens fell upon Junius Gallio, already terrified with the death of Seneca his brother, and then a ſupplicant for his own life, charging Gallio with the character of 'a parricide 'and a public enemy,' till the fathers unanimouſly awed and reſtrained him. They adviſed him, 'That

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'he would not ſeem to take an advantage of the 'public calamities, to gratify his own perſonal 'animoſity; and ſince, through the clemency of 'the Prince, all matters were compoſed, or all 'faults cancelled, he would not revive ſtaid pro-'ceedings, nor open a new ſource of cruelty.'

And now it was decreed that 'public thankſ-'givings and oblations ſhould be paid to all the 'Deities, and peculiar honours to the Sun, the 'God, who poſſeſſing an ancient Chappel in the 'Circus, the place intended for the perpetration of 'the parricide, had expoſed to light the dark con-'trivances of the conſpirators; that the Circenſian 'Games, exhibited to Ceres, ſhould be ſolemnized 'with an extraordinary acceſſion of horſes and cha-'riots; that the month of April, ſhould thence-'forth bear the name of Nero, and to the Goddeſs '*Salus* a Temple be erected in the place whence 'Scevinus had brought the dagger.' The dagger it ſelf was by Nero dedicated in the Capitol, and in-ſcribed, *To Jove the avenger (Jupiter Vindex)* words which at that time were not minded. But, upon the revolt of Julius Vindex, which afterwards hap-pened, from them was then drawn a happy augury and preſage of approaching vengeance. In the Journals of the Senate, I find that Cerialis Anicius, Conſul elect, when it came to his vote, propoſed, 'That a Temple ſhould, with all ſpeed, be raiſed, 'at the charge of the ſtate, and conſecrated to 'the deified Nero;' a motion which he really meant in compliment, as to one who ſoared above the higheſt lot of mortality, and was entitled to celeſ-tial worſhip from men; but from whence too was inferred an omen of his haſtening fate, ſince to Princes, divine honours are never paid till they have finally forſaken all commerce with men.

THE

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XVI.

The SUMMARY.

Falſe hopes of mighty Treaſures in Africa, and thence the vanity, and wild prodigality of Nero. *He contends for the public prize at the Quinquennial Games. The death of* Poppæa, *and her royal funeral.* C. Caſſius *and* L. Silanus *baniſhed; the latter murdered, with ſeveral others. An uncommon tempeſt in Campania.* Anteius *and* Oſtorius *doomed to die; as alſo* Mella, Criſpinus *and* Petronius. Thraſea Pætus *obnoxious to* Nero *for his diſtinguiſhed virtue; thence accuſed and marked for deſtruction; as alſo* Bareas Soranus, *and his daughter* Servilia. *Her ſignal defence and tenderneſs towards her father. The remarkable behaviour and end of* Thraſea.

FOrtune thereafter expoſed Nero to public deriſion, through the intoxication of his own vanity, and the wild promiſes made him by Ceſellius Baſſus a Carthaginian, one of a reſtleſs and

and chimerical ſpirit, who from the impulſe of a nocturnal dream gathered certain high hopes, and, ſure of ſucceſs, ſailed to Rome, where, having by money procured acceſs to the Prince, he ſet forth, 'That in his lands was diſcovered a cave of enormous profundity, where lay immenſe ſtore of gold, never reduced into form or coin, but in rude and ponderous lumps, ſuch as were uſed by the ancients; that indeed the antiquity of the place was apparent in the ſtructure and ruins, as here appeared heaps of huge maſſy bricks, there pillars ſtill erect; and all this wealth had for ſo many ages lain buried and reſerved to multiply the riches and felicities of the preſent reign. For the reſt, what could be learnt from conjecture was, that Dido the Phœnician, ſhe who fled from Tyre, having founded Carthage, had buried this treaſure, leſt her new people might be debauched by exceſſive opulence; and become vitious and ungovernable; or leſt the Princes of Numidia, who upon other accounts bore her malevolence, might from the ardent thirſt of gold be inſtigated to make war upon her.'

This ſtruck Nero, who little weighing the credibility of the account, or the faith and veracity of him that brought it, nor ſo much as diſpatching inſpectors to examine whether the particulars repreſented were true, heightened yet more the rumour of the diſcovery; and, as if it had been ſo much certain ſpoil already acquired, he ſent over ſome to tranſport it to Rome, nay, to accelerate its arrival, furniſhed them with light galleys manned by ſets of choſen and expert rowers. Nor did any other ſubject employ the converſation of the public at that time, while with the credulous multitude it paſſed for true, but from men of diſcernment met a different cenſure. And, as the Quinquennial Games happened then for the ſecond

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time to be in a courſe of celebration, the Poets and Orators, in their panegyrics upon the Prince, borrowed from thence their chief themes; 'for that 'the earth was no longer ſatisfied with yielding only 'her wonted bounties of fruits and grain, or gold 'incorporated with other ore, but teemed, in his 'reign with productions altogether new; and to 'him the Gods preſented treaſures already ſtored;' with many other fictions abounding in pompous eloquence, nor leſs remarkable for ſervile debaſement and flattery, ſecure as they were of his prompt faith to believe whatever they could feign.

In the mean time, he rioted in prodigality without all meaſure, from theſe fantaſtical hopes, and utterly conſumed his ancient treaſures, as if others in their ſtead now ſpontaneouſly accrued, ſufficient to ſupply him in a courſe of profuſion for many years. Nay, out of this imaginary fund he was already diſtributing largeſſes; and the vain expectation of great riches became one of the cauſes of public poverty. When Baſſus had perforated and hollowed all his grounds, with many adjacent fields, for a great compaſs round, hunting from place to place after the promiſed cave, which now he avered to be here, then to be there, attended not only with a number of ſoldiers, but by a multitude of boors employed as labourers in that work; he at laſt renounced his phrenzy, and, wondering that his dreams had never proved falſe before, and that this was the firſt time he felt their deluſion, diſcharged himſelf by a voluntary death from the agonies of ſhame and dread. Some authors ſay, that he was thrown into priſon, and anon releaſed, but his fortune ſeized in the room of this treaſure Royal.

During the proſecution of this affair, as the time was at hand for diſputing the prizes in the Quinquennial Games, the Senate, in order to avert in

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ſome degree, the diſgrace which Nero muſt incur by appearing a competitor there, offered to aſſert to him by decree 'the victory in Song;' nay even to adjudge him 'the crown of Eloquence;' meaning by ſuch diſtinction from the fathers, to throw a veil over his Theatrical debaſement. But Nero declared, 'That he needed not the interpoſition 'and partiality of the Senate, nor any authority 'of theirs, ſince he himſelf was a match for all 'his competitors, and would only by the equitable 'determination of the Judges, purchaſe the juſt 'praiſe and recompence of his ſkill.' He then preſented himſelf publicly, but firſt upon the Stage peculiar to the feſtival, and there rehearſed a Poem of his own compoſing; but anon, upon the clamour and importunity of the vulgar herd, 'that he would 'diſplay to the public the whole fruits of his ſtu-'dies' (for this was the phraſe which they uſed) he entered the Great Theatre and practiſed a ſedulous obedience to all the laws of the Harp, ſuch as not to ſit down however fatigued, not to wipe the ſweat from his face, ſave only with the veſtment he wore, thence to keep dry his mouth and noſe. In concluſion, bowing the knee and with his hands lifted up, paying veneration to the multitude, he awaited with fictitious awe the determination of his Judges. In truth, the commonalty of Rome, ever wont to humour and encourage the acting and geſticulations of common players, ecchoed their applauſes of Nero with meaſured notes and ſymphony, and clapped in tune according to the rules of concert. You would have thought that they had really rejoyced, and it is probable their rejoicings were ſincere, from an utter inſenſibility of public honour, or of the crying reproach which debaſed the Roman ſtate.

But far different was the behaviour of ſuch as dwelt in the municipal cities of Italy (for the countries of Italy as yet retained their primitive ſeverity,

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and the ſober manners of the ancients) as alſo of ſuch as came from the remote Provinces, where they were unacquainted with the like wantonneſs and revellings, and attended then at Rome upon embaſſies, or their own private affairs; neither of theſe could bear this diſhonourable ſpectacle, or were capable of diſcharging a taſk ſo unmanly; ſo that while, with irregular and aukward efforts in clapping, they marred the feats of the diſciplined clappers, they were frequently baſtonaded by the ſoldiers, who ſtood in ſeveral cluſters amongſt the crowd, to watch that not a moment ſhould paſs either in unequal and ill-concerted acclamations, or in cold and lifeleſs ſilence. Certain it is, that many Roman Knights while they ſtrove to retire, were through the ſtreightneſs of the crammed paſſages, and the weight of the multitude, preſſed to death; and that others, by never ſtirring night and day from their ſeats, were there ſeized with mortal maladies: for they dreaded even more than maladies the deadly conſequence of their abſence from this Imperial revel; ſince, beſides the ſeveral concealed ſpies, there were a number of obſervers, who publicly noted names and faces, and all the ſymptoms of pleaſure or melancholy in every particular of the aſſembly. Hence it was that, upon the vulgar and ignoble, inſtant pains were inflicted; towards thoſe of illuſtrious quality his hate was for the preſent ſmothered, but ſoon after diſcharged in deadly vengeance. It was reported, 'That Veſpaſian was by 'Phoebus, Nero's freedman, bitterly reproached 'and even charged as a criminal, for having nodded, and hardly found protection even by the 'prayers and mediation of worthy and honourable 'friends; that perdition ſtill hung over him, and 'he only eſcaped it by the grandeur of his enſuing deſtiny.'

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The diverſions of the Theatre were followed by the death of Poppæa, occaſioned by a caſual fit of paſſion in her husband, who killed her with a blow of his foot upon her pregnant womb; for, to poiſon I cannot aſcribe it, as ſome writers have done, rather through antipathy to Nero, than love of truth; ſeeing he vehemently coveted children, and was governed by a paſſionate fondneſs for his wife. Her corps was not conſumed to aſhes, according to the rites of the Romans, but after the manner of foreign Monarchs, embowelled, and replete with ſpices, repoſited in the ſepulchre of the Julian family. Her obſequies, however, were publicly celebrated, and from the public Roſtrum her panegyric was delivered by the Emperor, who magnified 'her beauty and happy lot, to have been the mo-'ther of an infant now enrolled amongſt the Dei-'ties,' with many other blind endowments of fortune, which he enumerated as ſo many virtues. The death of Poppæa begat in Rome every appearance of ſadneſs and mourning, but ſecretly inſtilled much joy into the hearts of all who remembered her lewdneſs and cruelty; and, beſides the reproach of this murder, Nero earned freſh deteſtation by forbidding Caius Caſſius from aſſiſting at her funeral, the firſt ſignal of his impending doom, nor was his doom long poſtponed. In the ſame fate Silanus too was involved, and each of them conſigned to deſtruction, without guilt or offence in either, only that both were men of high and ſignal diſtinction, Caſſius for his hereditary opulence and the exemplary gravity of his manners, Silanus for the ancient ſplendor of his race, and the popularity and eminent modeſty of his youth. Nero therefore ſent to the Senate a ſpeech in writing, and in it argued for 'the neceſſity of removing both from any 'ſhare in the adminiſtration of the ſtate.' To Caſſius particularly he objected, 'That amongſt

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'the Images of his anceſtors, he preſerved in high 'reverence that of Caius Caſſius, thus inſcribed, '*The leader of the party*, for that, he too was me-'ditating the ſcheme of a civil war, and a revolt 'from the family of the Cæſars; but ſince in his 'deſign of exciting inſurrections, he would not em-'ploy only the influence of a name ſo obnoxious, 'he had engaged Lucius Silanus, a youth ſplendid 'in deſcent, of a tempeſtuous ſpirit, and one whom 'he ſet as a ſtale to produce and animate a public 'revolution.'

He fell afterwards directly upon Silanus himſelf, with great bitterneſs, urging againſt him the very ſame imputations which he had formerly objected to his uncle Torquatus, 'That already he aſſumed the 'port of a Prince, in his houſe had eſtabliſhed offi-'cers of Imperial ſtate, and raiſed his freedmen to 'ſeveral dignities, ſome to be Auditors of the Re-'venues, ſome to be Maſters of Requeſts, others 'to be principal Secretaries;' ridiculous imputations, and as falſe as ridiculous! For, dread of the pre-vailing tyranny kept Silanus under more awe and precaution, and, from the late bloody doom of his uncle, he had learnt a terrible leſſon of circumſpec-tion. Nero next prompted certain perſons to aſſume the name of voluntary informers and forge an accu-ſation againſt Lepida the wife of Caſſius, aunt to Silanus, 'That with her nephew ſhe had been 'guilty of inceſt, and in ſacrifice had practiſed ma-'gical rites of direful tendency.' As accomplices were ſeized and arraigned Vulcatius Tullinus and Marcellus Cornelius, two Senators, with Calpurni-us Fabatus a Roman Knight, men who, by appealing to Cæſar, did thence divert their inſtant condemna-tion; and as Nero was thenceforth intent upon more exalted atchievements in cruelty, they whom he con-ſidered as ſmaller delinquents, entirely eſcaped his rage.

The Senate then proceeded to pronounce againſt Caſſius and Silanus ſentence of perpetual baniſhment, but, to the judgment of Cæſar referred the puniſhment of Lepida. Caſſius was tranſported into Sardinia, and, in regard of his great age, the ſhort remains of his life were ſpared. Silanus, under colour of ſending him away to the iſle of Naxos, was removed to Oſtia, and afterwards confined in Barium, a city of Apulia; while there, with the ſpirit of a wiſe man, he ſupported a lot moſt unworthy of his virtue and innocence, a Centurion commiſſioned for the aſſaſſination, laid hold on him, and adviſed him to cut his veins: he anſwered, 'That to die was the firm purpoſe of his ſoul, 'but upon an executioner he would not confer the 'glory of fulfilling that purpoſe.' Yet the Centurion perceiving him a man of great ſtrength, and though deſtitute of arms, reſolute and daring, and more diſpoſed to acts of wrath than thoſe of diſmay, ordered his ſoldiers to ſecure him: nor did Silanus fail to make vigorous reſiſtance, and to diſtribute blows with as much energy as by naked hands could be exerted, till at laſt he fell by the ſword of the Centurion, but under a multitude of wounds all received before, like thoſe of a brave man who falls facing the enemy in the day of battle.

Nor with leſs diſpatch and intrepidity did Lucius Vetus and his mother-in-law Sextia, with Pollutia his daughter, undergo their bloody doom. Towards them the Prince had long borne much vindictive rancour and hate, as thoſe whoſe lives were ſo many ſtanding reproaches upon him, for the murder of Rubellius Plautus, ſon-in-law to Lucius Vetus. But the firſt handle for manifeſting this his hatred and cruelty, was adminiſtred by a freedman of Vetus, his name Fortunatus, who having abuſed his truſt and defrauded his Lord, added malice to robbery, and became his accuſer. Into a partner-

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ſhip in this traiterous plot he aſſumed Claudius Demianus, one who for his villanies in Aſia was by Vetus, then Proconſul there, ſent in bonds to Rome, but now by Nero, in recompence of this his accuſation, releaſed. The accuſed, when he was apprized of this combination, and that againſt the credit of his freedman his life was ſtaked, retired to a ſeat of his own in the neighbourhood of Formiæ, whither a Guard of ſoldiers followed, and there ſecretly beſet him; with him too was his daughter. She, beſides the agonies which ſhe felt from the preſent awakening peril, had a ſoul before ſorely embittered by a long courſe of ſorrow, ever ſince ſhe had firſt beheld the aſſaſſins ſent to butcher Plautus her huſband; and, as ſhe had paſſionately hugged his bleeding neck, ſhe ſtill preſerved the garments ſtained by his blood, ſtill perſevered a widow, devoted to unrelenting grief and wailings, and a ſtranger to all nouriſhment, except what juſt ſaved her from the grave. Upon this occaſion, at the requeſt of her father, ſhe travelled to Naples, and, ſince ſhe was denied acceſs to Nero, ſhe beſieged his gates, and watched his coming forth, imploring him 'to hear the defence of an innocent 'man, nor to a traiterous freedman ſacrifice one 'who had been once his collegue in the Conſul-'ſhip.' And this her petition ſhe continued to urge importunately, ſometimes with the lamentable moanings of a woman, ſometimes with a ſpirit ſurpaſſing her ſex, and an accent vehement and imperious; till the implacable Emperor by his behaviour convinced her, that he was no more to be ſoftned by diſtreſs and ſupplications, than moved by the apprehenſions of public odium.

Hence ſhe reported to her father, 'That he muſt 'baniſh all hope, and meet a fate which he could 'not fly.' Tidings at the ſame time arrived, 'That 'the Senate was haſtening his trial and proceeding

'to a ſentence terrible and mercileſs.' Nor were there wanting ſome who perſuaded him to bequeath to Nero the bulk of his fortune, as the beſt expedient 'to ſecure the remainder to his grand-children,' a propoſal by him rejected, nor would he ſtain the whole courſe of his life, ſpent almoſt in the fulneſs of liberty, by cloſing it with an act of ſervitude, but amongſt his domeſtics diſtributed whatever ſums of money were then in his poſſeſſion, with orders, 'to 'appropriate to themſelves and remove away what-'ever they found portable, leaving only three 'couches for the uſe of their coarſes.' Then all three opened their veins, in one and the ſame chamber with one and the ſame ſteel, and, each covered for decency with a ſingle rayment, were with diſpatch conveyed into warm baths; the father's eyes intent upon his daughter, thoſe of the old Lady upon her grand-daughter, and hers upon both; all praying with emulation for a ſpeedy iſſue of fleeting life, each wiſhing to expire firſt, wiſhing to leave behind ſuch dear relations ſtill alive, though haſtening to die. Fortune obſerved the order of ſeniority and nature, the oldeſt firſt expired, and the youngeſt laſt. After they were buried they were accuſed, and voted to 'capital puniſhment according to the 'precedent of antiquity;' but againſt this Nero interpoſed, and would needs indulge them to die without preſcription of form. Such were the inſtances of deriſion added to ſlaughters already perpetrated! Publius Gallus a Roman Knight, who had been intimate with Fenius Rufus, and not unacceptable to Vetus, was for ſuch offence prohibited fire and water. To the freedman and accuſer, in recompence of the meritorious pains and ſervice, a place in the Theatre was aſſigned amongſt the officers belonging to the Tribunes. And as the name of *April* was changed into that of Nero, ſo was *May* into that of Claudius, and *June* into that of Germanicus.

Germanicus. Cornelius Orfitus, from whoſe motion theſe alterations proceeded, declared, 'That he had 'therefore propoſed aboliſhing the name of *June*, for 'that two of the Junii Torquati already executed for 'treaſon, had thence rendered that name abominable.'

This year one ſtained with ſo many accumulated acts of tyranny and blood, was by the Gods too branded with devouring tempeſts and mortality. By the violence of whirl-winds, the country of Campania was ravaged, villages were overturned, the plantations torn up, the fruits of the earth ſcattered, and the extenſive devaſtation carried as far as the neighbourhood of Rome; where, at the ſame time a fierce peſtilence was, without any diſcernable malignity in the air, ſweeping away all conditions of men. Full of coarſes were the houſes, full of funerals the ſtreets; nor ſex nor age was ſpared by the impartial malady; to the ſame ſwift deſtruction yielded the bondmen and free, amidſt the tears and wailings of their wives and children, who, whilſt they were yet attending and lamenting their expiring parents and huſbands, were themſelves ſnatched away, and frequently burnt in the ſame funeral pile with thoſe they lamented. As faſt as the reſt, periſhed illuſtrious Roman Knights and Senators, but leſs bewailed, ſince by a deadly contagion common to all, they eſcaped falling by the cruelty of the Prince. The ſame year recruits were raiſed in Narbon Gaul, and through Africa and Aſia; for ſupplying the Legions in Illyrium, from whence had been diſcharged all ſuch as were enfeebled by infirmity or age. To the inhabitants of Lyons, as a relief for their late calamity by fire, the Emperor preſented a hundred thouſand crowns, to repair the damages of their city, a ſum once preſented voluntarily by the Community of Lyons to Rome, during a time when ſhe was under public diſtractions and embarraſment.

In the conſulſhip of Caius Suetonius and Lucius Teleſinus; Antiſtius Soſianus, one doomed, as I have above related, to perpetual exile, for certain virulent verſes by him compoſed againſt Nero, becoming afterwards apprized of the honour and diſtinction paid to informers, and of the Emperor's propenſity to acts of rage and blood; being withal a man of a reſtleſs ſpirit, and no wiſe ſlack to embrace occaſions of advantage, courted the friendſhip of Pammenes, and through the ſimilitude of their lot obtained it. For Pammenes too was an exile of the ſame place, one celebrated for his ſcience in the myſteries of Aſtrology, and thence engaged in numerous friendſhips. He judged, that, without ſome important purpoſe, ſo many meſſengers and ſo many quæriſts to conſult him, could not be thus daily arriving, and learnt withal that, from Publius Anteius a yearly ſtipend was allowed him; nor was it any ſecret to Socianus that Anteius, for his zeal and attachment to Agrippina, was expoſed to the malice and jealouſy of Nero; that his opulence was ſufficiently ſignal to ſtimulate that rapacious Prince, and that from this ſource only, multitudes had ſuffered their deadly bane. With this view he intercepted letters from Anteius, and even ſtole the papers containing the calcuation of his nativity, and the future events of his life, which were ſecretly kept in the cuſtody of Pammenes. He beſides found the ſcheme by him drawn concerning the birth and fortune of Oſtorius Scapula, and then wrote forthwith to the Emperor, 'That might he obtain a ſhort reſpite 'from baniſhment, he had mighty diſcoveries to 'communicate, ſuch as were highly conducing to 'the perſonal ſafety of the Prince; for that Anteius and Oſtorius were meditating ſome ſuddden 'attempt upon the ſtate, and diving ſollicitouſly 'into their own deſtiny and that of Cæſar.' Immediately

mediately light pinnaces were diſpatched away, and Soſianus tranſported with expedition to Rome, where, upon the firſt divulging of his diſcovery, Anteius and Oſtorius were by all men conſidered rather already under the ſentence of death, than ſuch as were to be tried for their lives; inſomuch that none dared appear to witneſs the execution of Anteius his will, till Tigellinus authorized it, having firſt giving him warning, 'to loſe no time, but 'forthwith execute his laſt teſtament.' He then ſwallowed a draught of poiſon, but growing tired and impatient of its ſlow operation, accelerated his death by opening his veins.

Oſtorius was then abiding at an eſtate of his in a remote quarter of Italy, upon the borders of Liguria, and thither a Centurion was ſent with orders to ſlay him with all diſpatch. The motive for ſuch precipitation ſprung from this ſcource; Oſtorius was a man of a high military renown, diſtinguiſhed in Britain with a Civic Crown, of prodigious bodily ſtrength, and, from his experience in war, eminently qualified for feats of arms: Hence Nero, who ever lived under continual dread, and, ſince the diſcovery of the late conſpiracy, in the utmoſt diſmay and affright, was ſcared, leſt that brave officer ſhould take up arms and fall upon him. The Centurion, when he had beſet with Guards every iſſue from the villa, to prevent all eſcape, acquainted Oſtorius with his orders from the Emperor: Oſtorius, without delay, upon his own perſon turned the edge of that bravery which he had ſo often exerted with applauſe againſt the foe; and, ſeeing that from his veins, though largely opened, there flowed but little blood, he diſpatched himſelf by a poynard, uſing ſo far the help of one of his ſlaves, as to make him hold up the weapon ſteadily; then graſping and ſtrengthening the ſlave's hand with his own, he run his throat upon the fatal ſteel.

Were I even recounting the rage of foreign wars, and a ſeries of deaths undergone for the Commonweal, in a detail of events and diſaſters, all like the above, reſembling one another, I ſhould doubtleſs ſuccumb under the weary taſk, and propoſe no other than to ſurfeit my readers, juſtly loathing a recital of the fall of citizens, however honourable yet tragical and without end: Yet more irkſome is the preſent work, in which ſuch a deluge of blood tyrannically ſpilt at home, and the general and ſlaviſh paſſiveneſs under the Tyrant, are conſiderations that gnaw the ſoul and oppreſs it under anguiſh and ſorrow. By ſuch therefore as ſhall peruſe this Hiſtory, I deſire it may be remembered (and it is the only apology I claim) that from no hatred of mine, but the duty of an Hiſtorian, I mention thoſe who thus tamely ſubmitted to periſh: They periſhed, in truth, to ſatiate the vengeance of the Gods againſt the Roman State, which vengeance falling upon particulars, in a continued courſe of ſlaughters, its operations cannot juſtly be diſplayed in one general deſcription, like the ſlaughter of armies or the ſtorming and ſubduing of cities. To the poſterity of illuſtrious Men let this occaſional compliment be paid, that as they are not buried, like the common herd, but their obſequies diſtinguiſhed from the promiſcuous ſepulture of the vulgar; ſo, by recounting the circumſtances of their dying, they may receive and ever retain peculiar marks of remembrance.

For, within the compaſs of a few days, Annæus Mella, Cerialis Anicius, Rufius Criſpinus, and Caius Petronius, ſuffered, as it were all in a band, the violence of their fate. Mella and Criſpinus were Roman Knights, in figure and eſtimation conſiderable as Senators; the latter particularly had been once Captain of the Prætorian Guards and diſtinguiſhed with the ornaments of the Conſulſhip,

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but lately baniſhed, as an accomplice in the conſpiracy, into Sardinia, where, upon notice received that he was doomed to die, he ſlew himſelf. Mella, who was brother to Gallio and Seneca, forbore ſuing for the great offices of State, from a wayward ambition, that a Roman Knight might be ſeen to vie in authority with Senators of Conſular dignity: He likewiſe judged that acting as Comptroller to the Prince, in the miniſtration of his private revenues, was a quicker road to wealth. Add, that he was the father of Lucan, a circumſtance from whence accrued a vaſt acceſſion to his fame and ſplendour: But after the untimely fate of his ſon, while with ſpecial ſharpneſs and ardour he was recovering his effects, againſt himſelf he excited an accuſer, Fabius Romanus, one of Lucan's intimate friends. He feigned, 'That in the conſpiracy, the 'father and ſon were equally confederate;' and having counterfeited Letters to this purpoſe, in the hand of Lucan, preſented them to Nero, who after peruſal, ordered them to be carried to the accuſed, after whoſe riches he ravenouſly hunted. Mella anticipated his ſentence by a paſſage to death, in thoſe days, as the quickeſt, moſt frequently choſen, and broached his veins, when by will he had bequeathed to Tigellinus and his ſon-in-law Coſſutianus Capito, an immenſe legacy in money, in order to ſecure the remainder. It is added that, in his will he inſerted complaints concerning the rigour and iniquity of his doom, 'That he died guiltleſs 'of every crime deſerving death, whilſt Rufius 'Criſpinus and Anicius Cerialis men virulently 'diſſaffected to the Prince, were ſuffered to live.' But all this was believed to have been a fiction, purpoſely framed to juſtify the execution of theſe two; for Criſpinus was already ſlain, and over Ceralis the ſame bloody fate was impending; Nor indeed was it long ere he became his own executioner;

but fell with leſs commiſeration than the reſt, for that by him, it was remembered, had been diſclos'd to Caligula a plot concerted to deſtroy that Tyrant.

Concerning Caius Petronius ſome few particulars are to be recapitulated. He was one who in ſleep waſted the day, and to the civil offices and gay delights of life devoted the night: As others by a courſe of pains and vigilance had acquired a name and character; Petronius was by ſignal idleneſs and indolence raiſed to notice and renown. Nor yet was he eſteemed either a prodigal of his fortune or a ſlave to his groſſer appetites, like many who thus brutally laviſh and devour their eſtates. Petronius was curious and refined in his luxury; and ſince his actions and ſayings were frank and unreſtrained, all accompanied with an air of negligence, the more ſo they were, the more pleaſing they were, as bearing thence the impreſſion of pure ſimplicity and artleſs nature. However, while he exerciſed the Proconſular Government of Bithynia, and preſently after the Conſulſhip it ſelf, he manifeſted himſelf a man of ſpirit and vigour, and equal to great affairs. Then relapſing into a habit of ſenſuality and vice, or affecting to appear vitious and ſenſual, he was by Nero aſſociated with the ſelect few, who compoſed his fraternity of intimates, and eſtabliſhed maſter of elegance. Inſomuch that to the Emperor, in the midſt of all his affluent enjoyments, nothing appeared delicious and raviſhing, if it came not recommended by the taſte and approbation of Petronius. Hence the hate and envy of Tigellinus towards one, in credit, his rival, in the ſcience of pleaſures, his ſuperiour. He had therefore recourſe to the cruelty of the Prince, a paſſion to which all his other depraved appetites ever gave place. Againſt Petronius he objected an intimacy with the conſpirator Scevinus, corrupted one of his ſlaves to accuſe his maſter, precluded him from all

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defence, and to ſudden bonds committed moſt of his domeſtics.

Nero happened at that time to be upon the road to Campania, and Petronius having accompanied him as far as Cuma, was there by order put under durance; nor would he longer bear to protract his fate, by humouring the impulſe of hopes or fears; nor yet did he haſtily throw away life, but ordering his veins to be cut, directed them again to be cloſed and bound, then to be opened by intervals, juſt as his fancy moved him, diſcourſing the while to his friends, but upon no ſubject ſerious or profound, nor in ſtrains and ſentences whence he could aim at the renown of magnanimity in braving of death. To them too he attended while they recited, no ſolemn ſayings concerning the Immortality of the Soul, nor the Syſtems of Philoſophers, but gay Sonnets, with Verſes muſical and flowing. With bounties he rewarded ſome of his ſlaves, with chaſtiſements others: He even diverted himſelf with walking out, nay, refreſhed himſelf with ſleep, on deſign, that his death, though in reality doomed, might appear like one altogether caſual. Neither followed he in his laſt Will the example and ſtile of moſt, who periſhed like himſelf under the tyranny. Petronius flattered neither Nero, nor Tigellinus, nor any of the partizans of power, but under the names of lewd women and pathics, deſcribed all the ſecret abominations of the Emperor, with every practice of impurity by him uſed and admired as ſingular and new. To Nero he tranſmitted this picture of himſelf, carefully ſealed, then broke his ſignet, that after his death it might not be perfidiouſly uſed and become a ſnare to the innocent.

While Nero was doubting and recollecting, by what means could be divulged all the various devices of lubricity in which he conſumed the night,

his ſuſpicion fixed upon Silia, one the better known for having married a Senator; one too by the Prince aſſociated into all the eſſays and diverſity of his pollutions, and thoroughly intimate with Petronius. On pretence therefore that ſhe had not concealed what ſhe had there ſeen and undergone, ſhe was doomed to baniſhment; a ſacrifice in effect to his own perſonal hate. To that of Tigellinus he made another, and to his vengeance ſurrendered Numicius Thermus, once Prætor, for that a freedman belonging to Thermes had uttered certain criminal imputations upon Tigellinus, an offence which the ſpeaker expiated under exquiſite torments, and his innocent Lord by a bloody doom.

After the ſlaughter of ſo many men ſignal in name and quality, Nero, at length, became poſſeſſed with a paſſion to hew down virtue itſelf, by devoting to butchery Thraſea Pætus and Bareas Soranus, both, long ſince, the objects of his hate. But againſt Thraſea he was incenſed from ſeparate cauſes, for that he had withdrawn from the Senate, when the affair of Agrippina and the merits of her death came under debate there, as above I have remembered: In the ſolemnizing too of the preludes intitled *Juvenales*, he had manifeſted a behaviour far from courtly or acceptable; an indignity which pierced the Prince the deeper, for that Thraſea himſelf had, at Padua, the place of his nativity, chanted in the habit of a Tragedian, during the celebration of the Ceſtic Games, inſtituted there by the founder, Antenor from Troy. Moreover when Antiſtius the Prætor, was about to have been by the Senate condemned to execution, for a virulent Satire by him compoſed againſt Nero, Thraſea propoſed a mitigation of the ſentence, and carried it. Add that when celeſtial honours were decreed to Poppæa, he was purpoſely abſent, nor afterwards attended her funeral: Offences which by Capito

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Coſſutianus were carefully ſaved from falling under oblivion: Beſides the native bent of his ſpirit, abandoned to all feats of villainy, he bore ſpecial rancour towards Thraſea, ſince it was he who had ſupported the deputies from Cilicia in their charge upon Capito for extortion there, and by his credit obtained judgment againſt him.

To all theſe crimes of Thraſea's he added many more: 'He had avoided the ſolemnity of renewing 'at the beginning of the year, the annual oath 'then taken to the Emperor; he had forborn to 'aſſiſt at the ſuſception of yearly vows for the pre-'ſervation and proſperity of the Prince, though he 'were at the ſame time inveſted with the Quinde-'cemviral Prieſthood: He had never made obla-'tions for the ſafety of the Prince, nor for his voice 'divine. He, who had been formerly ſo aſſidu-'ous in attending, ſo indefatigable in affairs; he 'who was wont to intereſt himſelf in every decree, 'as a promoter or opponent of the moſt trivial and 'common, had not now in three years once en-'tered the Senate. In an inſtance ſo recent as that 'of Silanus and Vetus, when the fathers aſſembled 'with ſuch warmth and rapidity, to obviate and 'puniſh two men ſo dangerous, he only attended 'to the perſonal affairs of his clients. What elſe 'was all this but an open revolt, a party declared 'againſt the adminiſtration? and, if in many par-'ticulars the ſame daring inſolence were once found, 'what but a public war could enſue? As of old '(purſued Capito) this city, one ever addicted to 'diviſions and ſtrife, was wont to diſcourſe of Cæ-'ſar and Cato, as her two great chiefs and compe-'titors then; ſo now with the ſame factious ſpirit 'it is diſcourſed of thee, Nero, and of Thraſea. 'Nay, he has his profeſſed followers and partizans, 'or rather a body of champions at arms; men 'who in truth are not yet arrived to his boldneſs

'and

‘ and contumacy in counſel and ſpeeches, but ſtudy
‘ an exact conformity to his mien and manners,
‘ to a behaviour rigid and melancholy, on purpoſe
‘ to upbraid thee for a life of gayety and voluptu-
‘ ouſneſs. To this man only is thy imperial life
‘ of no concernment; with him alone all thy ac-
‘ compliſhments paſs unregarded: The events of
‘ thy reign the moſt proſperous, are by him treated
‘ with ſcorn; and is it not equally true, that with
‘ thy misfortunes and ſorrows he is not ſatiated?
‘ Such is the contumacy of his ſpirit, that he would
‘ not believe Poppæa to be a Deity; and from the
‘ ſame ſpirit it proceeds that he would not ſwear
‘ to the validity and obſervance of all the public
‘ Acts of Julius Cæſar and of Auguſtus, Princes
‘ promoted to deification. It is thus he contemns
‘ the Worſhip of the Deities, thus cancels the
‘ Laws of the State. Through the Provinces and
‘ amongſt the ſeveral Armies, the Journals of the
‘ Roman people are peruſed with the greater curi-
‘ oſity and care, that thence may be learnt what
‘ tranſactions there are which bear not the name
‘ and ſanction of Thraſea. In ſhort, let us either
‘ embrace theſe inſtitutions and politics, if they
‘ excel our own; or from a turbulent faction thirſt-
‘ ing after innovations, let their Oracle and Lea-
‘ der be ſnatched away. Pupils and champions
‘ formed by the ſame ſect were the Tuberones and
‘ Favonii formerly, names grating and grievous
‘ even to the ancient Commonwealth. It is only
‘ to ſubvert the Empire, that they uſe the fair ſound
‘ and pretence of Liberty; if their evil purpoſes
‘ ſucceed, Liberty itſelf will be the next object of
‘ their violence. In vain haſt thou baniſhed Caſſius
‘ from the State, if afterwards thou doſt ſuffer a
‘ party, which emulate the Brutus's to gather
‘ ſtrength and numbers in it. For the reſt, to the
‘ Senate and our management leave the judgment
‘ and fate of Thraſea, nor to that aſſembly do thou
‘ write

'write aught about him.' Naturally furious was the ſoul of Coſſutianus, and now further ſtimulated by Nero, who to him joined as his aſſiſtant in the accuſation Marcellus Eprius, an Orator of great acrimony and vehemence.

The taſk of accuſing Bareas Soranus was already beſpoke and undertaken by Oſtorius Sabinus a Roman Knight, who arraigned his conduct in the adminiſtration of Aſia, where he had governed as Proconſul with ſuch ſignal vigilance and juſtice as thence to incur freſh jealouſy and rancour from the Emperor. As another offence too, he had beſtowed much pains about a popular work, that of opening the Port of Epheſus, and had beſides left unpuniſhed the Citizens of Pergamos for having reſolutely oppoſed Acratus, one of Nero's freedmen, when he would have robbed their City of her pictures and ſtatues. Theſe were his real crimes; thoſe openly imputed were, 'his friendſhip with 'Plautus, and his intrigues to ingratiate himſelf 'with the Aſiatics, in order to engage them in 'novel deſigns.' A particular juncture was choſen for awarding them their doom, that of the arrival of Tiridates to receive the Crown of Armenia; perhaps with deſign that, while the public attention and rumour were engaged in concernments from abroad, domeſtic iniquity and bloodſhed might paſs in quietneſs and obſcurity: or perhaps Nero meant, on this occaſion, to diſplay the might and terrors of Imperial power, and the ſlaughter of illuſtrious men, as a feat of Majeſty Royal.

Now while the whole City thronged out to receive the Emperor, and to behold a foreign King, Thraſea had orders to forbear attending the entry, yet was no wiſe caſt down, but compoſed a Memorial to Nero: In it he beſought to know 'the al-'legations againſt him, and averred that he would 'vindicate himſelf, were he but apprized of the 'crimes, and had opportunity of clearing his inno-

'cence.'

'cence.' Nero received the Memorial greedily, as he hoped that Thraſea, under the influence of terror, might have written ſomewhat tending to magnify the grandeur and glory of the Prince, and to ſtain his own renown; but finding himſelf diſappointed, and dreading withal the countenance, the ſpirit, and free ſpeech of that great man, he ordered the Senate to be ſummoned. Thraſea then conſulted with his friends and kindred, whether he ſhould attempt a defence, or be ſilent. Their advices varied: They who counſelled his repairing to the Senate, ſaid 'That they were aſſured of his 'magnanimity there, and nothing would eſcape 'him, but what would procure him freſh glory. 'To the timorous only and the ſluggard it belonged 'to hide the meanneſs of their end in ſhade and ob-'ſcurity. It was fit the people ſhould behold ſuch 'a man going forth boldly to encounter death; it 'was fit the Senate ſhould hear his words more 'than human, pronounced as it were by the mouth 'of ſome Deity, a miracle which might poſſibly 'ſoften even the heart of Nero. But though he 'ſhould perſevere in barbarity: yet ſurely in dif-'ferent eſteem with poſterity, would be the me-'mory of a demiſe ſo worthy and diſtinguiſhed, 'from that of ſuch as choſe ſtupidly to periſh in 'paſſive ſilence.'

Thoſe who gave different counſel, and were for his waiting the iſſue at home, acknowledged the ſame things of the behaviour and merit of Thraſea; 'but, if he went, over him was impending much 'cruel mockery, and many bitter contumelies: 'It behoved him to avoid having his ears aſſailed 'with invectives and the laſhes of reproach. It 'was not Coſſutianus only, nor Eprius that were 'prompt to outrages: There were others beſides, 'who, perhaps, would aſſault him with violent 'hands and blows, to humour the ſavage brutality

'of

'of the Emperor, and the precedent begun by the 'violent and bad, might, through dread, be fol-'lowed even by the merciful and upright. He 'ought therefore to with-hold from that venerable 'body, which he had ſo long adorned, an occaſion 'of ſo tranſcendent a wickedneſs and reproach, 'and to leave it to uncertainty and conjecture, 'what would have been the ſpirit and decree of 'the Senate, upon the ſeeing of Thraſea defend 'himſelf before them as a criminal arraigned. To 'hope that ever Nero would be moved to a ſenſe 'of ſhame for his crying enormities, was raſh and 'vain: Much more to be dreaded was his flying 'into freſh rage, and his diſcharging the ſame upon 'the wife, and houſhold of Thraſea, and upon 'every other object of his tenderneſs and care. 'Upon the whole; he ought to meaſure the glory 'of his latter end by that of the worthies, by whoſe 'ſteps and ſtudies he had ſquared his life, and die 'in the ſtrength of his integrity, in the fulneſs of 'fame.' In the conſultation there aſſiſted Ruſticus Arulenus, a young man of great ſpirit and fervour. From this temper and a paſſion for fame, he offered to thwart the Decree of Senate, by interpoſing againſt it; for he was Tribune of the people. Thraſea reſtrained his temerity, and cautioned him againſt attempting 'methods in themſelves wild, 'to the perſon accuſed unavailing, and to the per-'ſon attempting them certainly fatal: For him-'ſelf; he had finiſhed his courſe, and from the 'rule of life which for ſo many years he had with-'out varying obſerved, he muſt not now depart. 'Into public offices Arulenus had but juſt entered, 'and upon his own choice it reſted, how far to 'engage in tranſactions future: But it much im-'ported him to weigh well beforehand what path 'he ought to purſue, when during ſuch times he 'engaged in offices of State.' For the reſt; to the

reſult

reſult of his own meditation he left it, whether it were proper for him to appear in the Senate.

On the day following two Cohorts of the Prætorian Guards under arms, environed the Temple of Venus the Prolific; a number of men dreſſed in the city robe, but armed with ſwords no wiſe concealed, had beſet the entrance of the Senate; and in the great Squares, and ſeveral Temples, were every where poſted bands of ſoldiers in array. Through the midſt of this ſcene of terror, and under the awe of objects ſo formidable and even menacing, the Senators paſſed to their aſſembly. There he, who was the Emperor's Quæſtor, recited a ſpeech by him ſent, in which, without deſcending to name particulars, he upbraided the fathers, 'That they deſerted the functions of the State, and 'from their example the Roman Knights too were 'lapſed into ſloth and inaction. Hence what mar-'vel, that Senators from the remote Provinces 'failed to attend, when many who had arrived at 'the Conſulſhip, and been diſtinguiſhed with Sa-'cerdotal dignities, choſe to withdraw from the 'public, and rather to devote themſelves to ſolitude 'and pleaſant amuſements in their Gardens?'

This ſpeech was as it were a weapon preſented to the accuſers, and greedily they ſnatched it. Coſſutianus having begun the charge, it was by Marcellus purſued with greater acrimony and vehemence: 'The Commonwealth, the Common-'wealth, he fiercely cried, was here concerned in 'her tenderneſs and moſt eſſential part: Such 'were the frowardneſs and contumacy of inferiours, 'that thence the gentleneſs and clemency of him, 'who bore rule, were checked and diminiſhed: 'Over-mild and acquieſcing had, to that day been 'the temper of the Fathers, who could thus ſuffer 'ſo many capital criminals to evade chaſtiſement, 'could ſuffer Thraſea ſo long revolted from public

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'obedience, ſuffer his ſon-in-law Helvidius Priſcus
'immerſed in the ſame rebellious meaſures, Paco-
'nius Agrippinus too, one who poſſeſſed from his
'father an hereditary rancour towards the Empe-
'rors, with Curtius Montanus, employed in com-
'poſing abominable Poems replete with treaſon.
'For himſelf; he wanted to behold Thraſea, him
'who had been Conſul, now filling his place in
'the Senate, him who was a Pontiff, aſſiſting at
'the ſolemnity where public vows were made, him
'who was a fellow-citizen renewing with the reſt
'the oath of fidelity; unleſs he had already re-
'nounced every inſtitution of our anceſtors, civil
'and ſacred, openly acted the traitor, and now
'declared himſelf a public enemy. In a word;
'as he was wont to perform the part of an active
'Senator, wont to defend and protect ſuch as had
'lampooned and defamed the Prince, let him re-
'ſume his place, let him offer his ſentiments, what
'he wiſhed to have corrected, and what to have
'changed: Much more eaſily would they bear
'him carping at every particular tranſaction, than
'condemning by his ſullen ſilence the whole admi-
'niſtration at once. What was it that grieved him?
'Was it the profound peace eſtabliſhed over the whole
'earth, or the public victories gained by our ar-
'mies without the loſs of men? Far be it from
'the Senate to ſuffer ſuch a man to gratify an am-
'bition ſo malignant and depraved, a man who ſor-
'rowed for the felicities of the State, one to whom
'the public Places, the Theatres and the Temples,
'appeared ſo many deſarts, wild and ſtrange, and
'one who was continually threatening to relinquiſh
'his country and roam an exile. With him our
'Decrees here paſſed for none, our Magiſtrates for
'none: with him this Metropolis was no longer
'Rome. He ought therefore to ceaſe to live in
'that City, ſince he had long ſince diveſted him-
'ſelf

‘ ſelf of all tenderneſs for her, and now could not
‘ bear her ſight.’

As in theſe and the like flights of fury, Marcellus, even in his perſon horrid and grim, was raging againſt Thraſea, with eyes, voice and viſage all on fire, the Senate no longer manifeſted that uſual air of ſadneſs, which from the frequency of returning dread and peril, was become cuſtomary there: A terror altogether new, more deep and alarming poſſeſſed them, while to their ſight were preſented ſuch a number of ſoldiers, their arms, and ſeparate bands. Their imaginations were alſo filled with the tragical lot of the perſon accuſed, the venerable perſon of Thraſea: And there were who commiſerated that of Helvidius, ‘ who muſt be doomed to
‘ puniſhment, merely for an alliance with a man
‘ void of blame. Againſt Agrippinus too what elſe
‘ was charged but the tragical fate of his father, a
‘ man who, in truth, had fallen himſelf an innocent victim to the cruelty of Tiberius. Nay,
‘ baniſhment muſt be the doom of Montanus, a
‘ young man and virtuous, for no Libel by him
‘ written, but purely becauſe by his Writings he
‘ had ſignalized his genius and parts.’

In the mean while entered Oſtorius Sabinus, the accuſer of Soranus, and againſt him urged ‘ the
‘ friendſhip between him and Rubellius Plautus;
‘ and that in his Proconſular adminiſtration of Aſia,
‘ he had rather conſulted his own popularity and
‘ luſtre than the public good and utility, by nouriſhing animoſity and tumults in the provincial Ci-
‘ ties:’ Stale imputations, and long ſince prepared by the accuſer. But now he offered a recent charge, and in the crimes and peril of the father involved the daughter, ‘ That ſhe had with large ſums feed
‘ the Magicians:’ A tranſaction reſulting purely from the paſſionate tenderneſs of Servilia (for this was the young Lady's name) towards her father, as well

well as from the unwarineſs of her youth: Yet the whole of her conſultation was 'only about the con-'ſervation of her houſe, whether the wrath of Nero 'might not come to be appeaſed, and whether no 'tragical judgment would follow the cognizance of 'the Senate.' For this ſhe was brought into the Senate; and before the Tribunal of the two Conſuls, but at oppoſite ſides, ſtood the father and daughter, he full of years, ſhe under twenty, and, ſince the late baniſhmentof Annius Pollio her husband, in a ſtate of widowhood, ſolitary and ſad. Her father's face upon this occaſion ſhe could not bear to behold, ſince ſhe, as it ſeemed, had wofully heightened his danger and ſufferings.

The accuſer now queſtioned her, 'Whether 'ſhe had not turned into money her bridal Or-'naments, and even ſtript from her neck her col-'lar of jewels, in order to defray the expence of 'magic Rites and Sacrifices?' At firſt ſhe caſt herſelf down, and lay along upon the floor, then after a flood of tears, after long ſobbing and ſilence, ſhe roſe, and embracing the Altars, particularly that of Venus; 'No miſchievous Divinities,' ſaid ſhe, 'have I invoked; no incantations have I tried, 'nor was aught elſe the burden of my raſh and 'diſaſtrous ſupplications, than that thou Cæſar, 'and you Fathers of the Senate, would to this my 'dear and indulgent parent, beſet with terrors 'and affliction, graciouſly afford protection and 'ſafety. With this view I preſented my jewels, 'my precious rayment, and other decorations pe-'culiar to my quality; as I would have preſented 'my blood and life, had my blood and life been 'required. To theſe Foretellers, men till now 'utterly unknown to me, it belongs to declare whoſe 'miniſters they are, and what myſteries they uſe: 'By myſelf the Prince's name was not once pro-'nounced otherwiſe than with thoſe of the Deities.

'Yet to all this proceeding of mine, whatever it 'were, my unfortunate father was an utter ſtranger; 'and if it is a crime, I alone am the delinquent.' Theſe words alarmed Soranus, and while ſhe was yet uttering them, he interrupted her; he cried out with earneſtneſs, 'That his daughter went not with 'him to the Province, ſuch too was her tender age, 'that ſhe could have no poſſible acquaintance with 'Plautus: In the crimes of her huſband ſhe was 'no wiſe engaged; her only blame was that of 'filial piety over-ſtrained: Let her cauſe be there-'fore disjoined from his; his own fate, whatever 'it ſhould prove, he was ready to undergo.' This ſaid, he was haſtening to embrace his daughter, who flew to meet him, but the Conſular Lictors ſtepped between and prevented them.

To the witneſſes next an immediate hearing was given, and however high the barbarous ſpirit of the accuſer had already raiſed common compaſſion for the accuſed, equally high was the indignation excited by the appearing of Publius Egnatius as an evidence; a client and follower of Soranus, now bought with a price to overwhelm his patron and his friend. As he profeſſed the rigid Sect of the Stoics, his teſtimony was from this circumſtance to derive weight and conſideration; for into ſuch ſolemnity he had framed his countenance and whole exteriour, as to diſplay the ſemblance of a man worthily diſpoſed and virtuouſly employed, but poſſeſſed a ſoul traiterous and enſnaring, replete with avarice and every depraved appetite, all artfully concealed. But now the force of money, more prevalent than art, having laid open ſo much hypocriſy and impoſture, furniſhed an inſtructive example, that as we guard againſt ſuch as are branded for notorious frauds and contaminated with open villainies; ſo with no leſs care ought we to guard againſt men, who, under the fair guiſe of righteous

life

life and acquirements, hide hollow hearts, alike prompt to profeſs and to betray friendſhips. On that ſame day, however, was exhibited a different and honourable example by Caſſius Aſclepiodotus, a man, for his ſignal opulence, of the foremoſt rank in Bithynia; yet without regarding what riſk he incurred, the ſame devotion and reverence, with which he had courted Soranus during the ſunſhine of his fortune, he ceaſed not to pay him, though now ſinking under malignant fate. Hence he was deſpoiled of his whole fortune, and doomed to exile. Such was the lukewarmneſs and indifference of the Deities, alike unmoved by patterns of righteouſneſs and thoſe of iniquity! To Thraſea, to Soranus and Servilia, was granted the choice of their own deaths: Helvidius and Paconius were to be baniſhed from Italy: Montanus, for the ſake of his father, had his pardon, with an exception annexed, 'That he ſhould never be admitted to any 'Office in the State.' To Eprius, one of the accuſers, was decreed a reward of more than thirty thouſand pounds, to Coſſutianus another, the like ſum; and to Oſtorius the third, as many thouſand crowns, beſides another recompence, that of the ornaments of the Quæſtorſhip.

The Quæſtor attending the Conſul was, now in the cloſe of the day, diſpatched to Thraſea, then in his gardens. He was at that inſtant frequented by a numerous aſſembly of men and women, illuſtrious for their quality, but was chiefly attentive to Demetrius, a profeſſor of the Cynic School. With this Philoſopher, as far as could be conjectured by the intenſeneſs of his looks, and by certain words, which, when they happened to raiſe their voices, were over-head, he was reaſoning and inquiring about the nature of the Soul, and concerning its departure from the body, till he was interrupted by the arrival of Domitius Cæcilianus. This was

one of his moſt intimate friends, and related to him what the Senate had decreed. As upon theſe ſad tydings the company melted into plaints and tears, Thraſea preſſed them, 'forthwith to retire, 'nor to tempt danger by involving themſelves in 'the fate of a perſon condemned:' And as Arria his wife was earneſt to emulate the example of her mother, and to ſhare with her huſband in his laſt lot, he beſought her, 'to preſerve her life, nor 'deprive their common daughter of her only re-'maining refuge.'

He then went forth into a gallery, and there the Quæſtor from the Senate found him, filled rather with chearfulneſs than with any oppoſite paſſion, ſince he had learnt that againſt Helvidius his ſon-in-law, nothing worſe was decreed than his baniſhment from Italy. Having now had delivered to him in form the ſentence of the Senate, he took Helvidius and Demetrius into his chamber, and extending both his arms, the veins of both were cut: As the blood ſprang, he called the Quæſtor nigher, and with it beſprinkling the floor; 'Let us, ſaid he 'to him, make this libation to Jove the Deliverer. 'Look here, young man, and conſider; may Hea-'ven too grant there be no Omen in my words: 'But into ſuch times thy birth and age have thrown 'thee, as may juſtly require thee to fortify thy 'ſpirit by examples of magnanimity.' After this, as from the ſlow approaches of death, grievous torments were enſuing, he turned towards Demetrius * * * *

The reſt of this Annal is loſt.

END of the SECOND VOLUME.

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